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THE YORKSHIRE
Archæological and Topographical
JOURNAL.

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PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL

OF THE

Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association.

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THE YORKSHIRE
Archæological and Topographical
JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL

OF THE

Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association.

VOL. IV.

[ISSUED TO MEMBERS ONLY.]

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PREFACE.

THE Preface mainly needed for a fourth Volume of *The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal*, is one which may convey to contributors the thanks of the Council for the learned and interesting papers, which form the substance of the following pages.

Without the kind help of those who, after devoting much time and learning to the researches they pursue, are willing to give to others the benefit of the information thus acquired, it would not have been possible for the Journal to have attained the success indicated by its continued publication for eight years. On the other hand, the Council has been at all times anxious to provide the best and most suitable illustrations which the means at its disposal could procure, where illustrations were necessary for the fuller appreciation of any subject. In the present Volume great aid has been rendered by the Rev. Canon Raine, M.A., who has permitted the wood-cuts of his father's work on St. Cuthbert to be used in connection with the important and valuable paper of the Rev. Josh. Fowler, F.S.A., on the St. Cuthbert window in York Minster. It has been the object of the Council in selecting papers to meet as far as possible the views and wishes of all sections of members of the Association, and it is hoped that the Archaeologists, the Topographers, and the

Genealogists of the County may all find in the Journal some useful and genuine material of value to them in the prosecution of their respective studies. The complete and comprehensive Index is a feature intended to make as accessible as possible all the information the Volume contains, and, for help in preparing a considerable portion of it, thanks must be here given to the Rev. Josh. T. Fowler, F.S.A., of Durham.

The importance necessarily attaching to the preservation of all Public Records, has made the threatened removal of ancient Wills and other Testamentary Records from York an object of anxious consideration to the Council, and it has been felt right to record in the Journal, not only the steps taken by the Council, in conjunction with the Corporation of the City of York, to prevent this removal; but also the names of those, who afterwards joined in the determined protest addressed by the Council and the Corporation to the Right Hon. Sir James Hannen, Knt., President of the Probate Division of the High Court of Justice, and to the Lords of the Treasury.

It remains only to add that though the Journal is edited under the direction of the Council, the writers are alone responsible for the statements and opinions contained in their respective papers.

JANUARY, 1877.

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Byland Abbey Exploration.

WHEN the Royal Archæological Institute visited Byland Abbey, in 1874, during the Ripon Meeting, a general wish was expressed that some efforts should be made to remove the fallen rubbish by which the remains are encumbered, and thus disclose the original plan and arrangement of the Church and Conventual buildings. The Council of the Yorkshire Archæological Association lost no time in communicating with Major Stapylton, the owner of the ruins, who most readily entertained the suggestion that a thorough and scientific examination and exploration of the Abbey should be made under the direction of Mr. Edmund Sharpe, M.A., of Lancaster. Having thus secured the cordial support and co-operation of the owner, Mr. Sharpe was applied to, and most kindly consented to advise the Council as to the best method to be adopted in pursuing the proposed investigation, and, after meeting a deputation at Byland, he has prepared the Report which is given below. From this and from the account of the Abbey by which it is followed, a general idea of the magnitude and importance of the scheme can be obtained.

What the Council seeks is, to do for Byland what the noble owners of Fountains Abbey and Jervaulx Abbey have at great cost already effected in those important ruins, and they appeal with confidence, not only to the members of their Association and to Yorkshiremen generally, but also to all antiquaries, archæologists, architects, and others, who may appreciate the value and importance of the object in view, to support them by contributing liberally to a special fund to be devoted to this purpose.

This 'Special Fund' will be wholly distinct from the general funds of the Association, and the Council in undertaking its administration will hope to have the assistance and co-operation of a committee of subscribers to be nominated when a sufficient response to this appeal has been made to justify a commencement of operations. Substantial

donations have been already promised, and a list of subscribers will from time to time be issued, together with reports of the work as it proceeds.

The Council feels that the present opportunity of making a considerable and important addition to the materials available for the history of Cistercian abbeys under Mr. Sharpe's direction, ought to be eagerly accepted and at once, and hopes that any one into whose hands this appeal may come will consider it favourably, and by a prompt and liberal reply enable the Council to commence the work as early as possible in the Spring of 1876.

Cheques and Post-office orders may be sent to either of the undersigned, at their addresses given below, or may be paid direct to the "Byland Abbey account," at the West Riding Union Bank, Huddersfield.

By order of the Council,

<i>Hon. Secs.</i>	{	FAIRLESS BARBER,
		Castle Hill, Rastrick, Brighouse.
		GEO. W. TOMLINSON,
		24, Queen Street, Huddersfield.

December 31st, 1875.

MR. SHARPE'S REPORT.

Byland Abbey.

To the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Council of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN :

I have much pleasure in forwarding to you, according to the request of your Secretary, Mr. Fairless Barber, the conclusions at which I have arrived since I met him and Mr. Thomas Brooke as a deputation from your Council in August last at the ruins of Byland Abbey, as to the manner in which the project for the excavation of these ruins should be carried into effect.

and emporium of the common produce both of sea and land." The real history of the metropolis of northern England begins with the Roman occupation. When, however, the Romans called their station Eboracum, or, perhaps, as Mr. Wellbeloved shows to be probable, Eburacum, they evidently did not, as in "Colonia," or "Confluentes," employ a new and altogether Latin name, but as in "Mediolanum," "Isca," or "Durolipons," they Latinized one of native origin, already in use. Until recently, strange as it may appear, this was the only positive argument, and it was a strong one, in favour of the præ-Roman existence of the place. Recently, however, researches into the sepulchres around the city have discovered undoubted British burials below those of the Roman and English periods, and these, I believe I may say, in the opinion of Mr. Raine and Mr. Monkman of Malton, have established the existence of an early British settlement, probably the same as the later "civitas Brigantum" of Tacitus. I believe this discovery to stand alone in affording material evidence of the British city. No earthwork of distinctly British origin is found within or near York, nor indeed, save the ancient river, is there at hand any physical feature of the country bearing a decidedly British name. No part of the great earthworks by which the city is girt can be attributed to the Brigantes. Though not all of one date, they all evidently belong to ages more advanced, and to a class of works very different from those found scattered along the crests of the hills, and sometimes retaining, even now, their Celtic appellations. We know from Cæsar's description of Verulam, that the British towns were strong earthworks in a wood, and from Strabo that these works were fenced in with hewn-down trees, and such we may suppose to have been the *Caer Ewrawc* found and taken possession of by the Romans, out of the name of which they fabricated Eboracum.

Much, and mainly of an unsatisfactory character, has been written upon the etymology of this, the earliest name of the city. It seems generally to be thought to be connected with the term *Eure*, now confined to the great river of Yorkshire above Boroughbridge, but which formerly, it is suggested, may have been extended to the lower stream, upon which *Caer Ewrawc* was situated. But, however this may be, and whether the Roman settlement was by foun-

dation or by adoption, the actual site of York is worthy of a people who proposed to take and hold the country, and to maintain it under law and order. Central in position, it stands upon a river navigable to the sea, and while the country round was open and admitted of being intersected by roads in every direction, the city itself was protected on one part by a broad and deep river, and on another by a stream which, though of less volume, traversed and saturated a tract of marshy and impracticable country. It is evidently to the confluence of these two streams, now known as the Ouse and the Foss, that York owes its origin.

The Roman station covered a tolerably level platform, from 25 to 30 ft. above the waters of the river, and about 100 yards from its left or eastern bank. Sometimes, as at Leicester, these stations, when near a river, were extended to its actual edge, and the water became the defence on that side, but here, the river being navigable, that plan would have been unsafe, and a space was left between the fortified area and the stream.

The precise date of the Roman settlement on the Ouse is unknown. Of the early generals, Cæsar probably penetrated but little beyond the Thames, or at most to the crest of the Chilterns. Aulus Plautius, Claudian, Vespasian, and Ostorius Scapula, were engaged chiefly in subduing the south and west, the last extending his conquests into the Midland territory, and perhaps reaching the Humber, where, and in the country of the Brigantes, Suetonius Paulinus seems to have made a settlement. Agricola, who landed as a commander in A.D. 78, and retired finally A.D. 85, completed the conquest of North Britain, and probably established a permanent camp at York. Of course such a post would be, at first, a mere light earthwork, a bank and ditch, set out in the Roman fashion, and protected with palisades and by the discipline of the garrison. Of this first camp nothing is positively to be distinguished, but no doubt when it was superseded by a walled station, the new defences were built upon the old lines, where they are still to be seen or traced. By whom the Roman walls were originally built is unknown, probably during the second campaign of Agricola, A.D. 79, after the complete subjugation of the Brigantes, and in connection with the great military roads, of which four radiated from the city, and communicated afterwards with a whole

network of subordinate or cross-ways, many of which are still in use. During the times of Hadrian, who landed A.D. 120, and built the Northumbrian wall from sea to sea; of Lollius Urbicus, who twenty years later connected in a similar manner the Forth and the Clyde, and of Severus, who, A.D. 207, re-asserted the Roman power and re-inforced the wall of Hadrian; the country became populous and rich, many walled stations and towns connected with them were founded, and the remains of Roman residences scattered far and wide over the land attest its prosperity and internal peace. Ptolemy, writing in the second century, mentions Eboracum as the head-quarters of the sixth legion, a fact corroborated by many local inscriptions, and I am informed by Mr. Barber that a stone was dug up in Walmgate which recorded some work executed there by the 9th Legion by order of Trajan, and which was considered by Mr. Wellbeloved to be, with but one exception, the earliest dated Roman inscription in Britain. The 9th Legion came to Britain A.D. 109, the 6th towards the end of the reign of Hadrian, who died A.D. 138. Eboracum became rapidly a large city, a place of great military and commercial importance, the capital of the north, and from the middle of the second century to the close of the Roman occupation of Britain, it was the seat of the government of Britain, and the centre of the great military force maintained there. It was the chief of the twenty-eight Romano-British cities, though there is no sound authority for the statement that it was one of the two which alone bore the title of "Municipium." Above the city the river was guarded by the stations or "castella" represented by Benningburgh, Aldwark Ferry, and Aldburgh, placed about five miles apart. The fortress, or military part of the Roman city, was confined to the left bank of the river, but the suburbs crossed the Ouse and extended widely to the south-west as well as to the north. The walled enclosure measured about 452 yards north-west and south-east or up and down the stream, and 530 yards in the direction at right angles. There were four principal gates, those to the north-east and south-west nearly in the centre of their respective sides, those to the north-west and south-east considerably to the south of, or nearer to the river than the centre. But it is to be remarked that as the former gates being in the centre were 226 yards

on a fresh site, which had previously been given to them by Sir Thomas de Colvil, a church that should surpass in size and in its general character all existing churches of the order, with conventual buildings on a proportionate scale.

That this church was not commenced until some time after the year 1150, when Roger de Mowbray obtained from Roger, Bishop of York, the promise to take the Abbey under his protection, on its freedom from the persecution and claims of the Abbots of Furness and Savigny, is obvious from Abbot Philip's detailed account of the pains taken by the monks, subsequent to this date, to clear of timber, and to drain the land, where they intended to place their new Convent. That it must have been commenced and advanced to the point which enabled them to hold their services in it before A.D. 1177 is also certain from the fact, that, on the 31st of October in that year, the monks migrated from Stockyng to the new site, which is very accurately described in Abbot Philip's account as lying between Whiteker and the foot of the mountain of Cambe, close to Burtoft and Berselyva. That it was moreover finished, so far as the structure itself was concerned, before 1197, the year in which Abbot Philip wrote, is also evident from the terms in which he refers to it.² Had I to attach a date to this Church, judging from the internal evidence of the character of the work alone, I should be disposed to fix upon 1170 as

² "Cum ergo dominus Rogerus Mowbray fundator noster audisset et vidisset multas calumpnias graves et injustas super domum et monachos suos de Bella Lauda maliciosè de die in diem et vehementer agitari, cogitavit apud se quomodo incommodis obviare et monachis tranquillitatem posset conferre: iussit et qualiter dona sua et Gundræ matris suæ, quæ eisdem monachis per vices autē dederant, valebant firmiter et securius tueri, et illibato custodiri, perrexit cum militibus suis idem R. Mowbray ad dominum Rogerum nobilem virum tunc Archiepiscopum Eboraci et ad capitulum Sancti Petri ibidem, humiliter et devote eisdem supplicans, ut dona sua elemosinaria, necnon et matris suæ scripto suo autentico protegere dignarentur et conservare. Unde dictus archiepiscopus et capitulum petitionibus tam magni viri et mulieris consensum et assensum præbuerunt, eadem dona scriptis suis autenticis roboraverunt eo libentius quo noverunt servos Christi à tanto viro devotius visi-

tari: et sic idem archiepiscopus suscepit in protectionem beati Petri et suam domum Bellande anno pontificatus sui secundo; scilicet anno Domini MCLV. — Cum verò dictus Abbas R. cum suis monachis in occidentali parte territorii de Cukwold, ut supradictum est, mansissent, viriliter extirpare cœperunt de nemore, et per fossas longas et latas magnas aquas de paludibus extrahere: ac postquam apparuit solida terra paraverunt sibi locum latum, ydoneum et honestum in orientali parte ejusdem territorii inter Whiteker et pedem montis Cambe, scilicet juxta Burtoft et Berselyvam ubi de novo ecclesiam suam pulchram et magnam construxerunt, *sicut patet in præsentī*, quam consummet altissimus et conservet in secula seculorum. Et sic de Stockyng se illuc transtulerunt, in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ MC septuagesimo septimo, ubi, Domino annuente, feliciter manebunt in æternum."—Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. v, p. 353.

doubt been whetted by the scarceness of good building stone, of which there is no quarry within from six to eight miles of the city.

The "multangular tower," which by some happy accident has been preserved to represent Roman York, formed one corner of the Roman area. It is a shell of masonry, presenting nine faces, 45 ft. in exterior diameter, and 24 ft. wide at the gorge, which is open. It is not placed, as in mediæval works, so as merely to cap the junction of two walls, which would have met at a right angle, but the whole angle is superseded, as in Roman camps, by a curve of about 50 ft. radius, and the tower stands in the centre of this curve, three quarters of it, presenting its nine faces, being disengaged. The tower and its contiguous wall are 5 ft. thick. The Roman part of the work is about 15 ft. high. It is of rubble, faced on either front with ashlar, the blocks being from 4 to 5 inches cube. There is one band of five courses of bricks, each brick 17 in. by 11 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. that may be traced along both tower and wall, although the surface of both has been much patched and injured. Upon the Roman work has been placed an ashlar upper story, composed of larger stones, and about 3 ft. thick and 12 ft. high, pierced by nine cruciform loops, one in each face, and each set in a pointed recess. This addition is of early English or early Decorated date. The wall extending south-east from the tower for 53 yards, is of the same date, material, and workmanship. Both, having escaped destruction in the post-Roman period, were incorporated into the defences of the later city. The wall on the other side of the tower, running eastwards, has been partially destroyed, and is now only 4 ft. high, and at a short distance becomes buried in the later bank. This part of the wall was evidently destroyed before the earthwork was thrown up, for not only is it buried within the bank, but the wall of the mediæval city is here founded 4 ft. in front of it, and in other places many feet above it. It is to be observed that the Roman tower and wall, where perfect, are entirely unconnected with any bank of earth, and the ashlar facing, both inside and outside, shows this to have been originally intended. The wall stands on the natural surface of the ground, and is seen of equal height on either face. There may have been, and no doubt was, an exterior ditch, even in Roman times, but a bank of

earth sustaining the wall it is pretty clear there was not. This feature in the Roman defences, so different from the practice in later times, is not peculiar to York. It is seen at Porchester, Silchester, and in other Roman fortresses, where each face of the wall was intended to be seen. It is thus evident that the earthworks which form so important a feature in the defences of York are all of post-Roman date. Another fragment of the Roman wall is now seen in Mr. Gray's garden, about 100 yards west of Monk Bar, where it was covered up with about 12 ft. of débris, and has recently been laid open at a point very close to, if not actually upon, the old Roman north gate, of which some of the exposed foundations may very well have been a part. Here also the Roman wall underlies the bank upon which the mediæval wall is built. A third fragment of this Roman wall, about 40 yards in length, is exposed in a court close east of Monk Bar. It is about 6 ft. high, and faced with the original ashlar blocks, and until lately was covered up in the earth-bank. This fragment is about 6 ft. high above the present surface, and it is thought that the level of the Roman street is about 20 ft. lower down. Although so little of the Roman wall is seen above ground, it has been traced at various points, so that it may be considered as established that it included the whole area, and that there were upon it four angle towers and four main gates, of which Bootham Bar represents one, though the present mediæval structure contains no trace of Roman work, and indeed probably stands at a much higher level than its Roman predecessor. The line of road from this bar is Roman, and led to Isurium or Aldborough. Of the other three gates, the position has been ascertained by excavation, or by following up the Roman road leading to each. The gate near Monk Bar, traced in Mr. Gray's garden, was upon the road leading to Derventio, which may perhaps be Malton. Another was in low Petergate, close to Christ's church, on the road leading to Prætorium or Brough-on-the-Humber. This road crosses the later way at Walmgate Bar. A fourth gate was at the bottom of Stonegate, in front of the Mansion House, upon a way which traversed the site of the present Guildhall, crossed the Ouse at that point by a bridge, and, passing through the site of the present Micklegate Bar, proceeded in a direct line towards Calcaria or Tadcaster. Most, if not all,

of the masonry which has been laid open seems to be of the same general date with the multangular tower. It is remarkable that the remains of only one mural tower, of Roman date, have been discovered. It was 22 ft. square, and projected wholly inwards. It stood a few yards south of Bootham Bar.

Besides these fragments of the wall, various other Roman remains have been laid open below the present surface, all of which are shown in the admirable antiquarian map of the city by Mr. Skaife. They are chiefly, a chamber inside the wall 60 yards north of the multangular tower; a building in Museum Street, on the site of St. Leonard's Hospital; and some walling behind St. Cuthbert's church, by Peaseholme Green. Beyond the river and outside the military post, other remains of Roman buildings have also been found. The present railway station covers the site of extensive public baths from which there is a drain leading towards the Ouse. In Tanner Row, close east of these, are traces of a temple of Serapis, and the pavement of a house; and especially should be mentioned a pavement laid open just within Micklegate Bar, in the lane leading towards the station. This is particularly important, because it lay under the earth-bank of the city wall, and proves that here also that bank is post-Roman. On the other side of the same Roman way, where St. Martin's Lane falls into Micklegate, are other remains, and besides these, situate either within the fortified space, or within the limits of the expanded Roman city, have been found similar traces of occupation over a still wider area. Of these the most important are a pavement, a sepulchral vault, several stone coffins, and other indications of extensive cemeteries at Clementhorpe, along the Tadcaster road, and between that road and the Ouse, upon the ground now being excavated for the proposed railway station. Also, on the north side of the Ouse, beyond St. Mary's and the Almerly Garth, are traces of burials extending up to the Aldborough road. Happily for the interests of archæology, all excavations over these areas have been carefully watched by Mr. Raine, whose discoveries have added largely to the collections in the valuable museum of the Yorkshire Literary and Philosophical Society, which had been already gathered together and described by Mr. Wellbeloved and Mr. Kenrick. What

is incontestably proved by all these discoveries is, that the Roman Eboracum far exceeded the bounds of the military post, and included suburbs thrown out in every available direction far beyond the defences, showing that the inhabitants were very numerous and rich, and lived entirely free from any apprehensions of danger.

Although the Foss is most certainly a natural stream, and not, as has been asserted, a Roman cut, it seems probable from its name that the Romans either altered its lower course or converted it into a larger basin below the city, just above its junction with the Ouse. It is more than probable that they here received and stored their supplies of corn, and that much of the commerce of the city in its palmy period was here carried on. It seems not improbable that a large strip of the low land on the left bank of the river was then a part of the basin, though now, since the construction of the Castle weir, silted up and reclaimed.

The Roman armies were officially withdrawn from Britain A.D. 426—430, and Eboracum, falling into the hands of its but very imperfectly Romanised British inhabitants, became once more *Caer Eborac*. Doubtless, up to that period, the Roman buildings, public and private, churches, basilicas, and domestic dwellings, were perfect, nor is it probable that the Britons, tinctured with Roman blood and used to Roman customs, would have injured them; but that they were destroyed, and buried deep in their own ruins before the existing earthworks were thrown up, is certain. By whom then, and at what period, and as a defence against whom, were these earthworks formed? To answer this question it will be convenient, in the first place, to describe them. These earthworks appear to be of, at least, two periods: those upon the right and left bank of the Ouse seem of one date; and those beyond, or upon, the Foss, of another. The former, as the older, may be taken first. A broad and deep ditch was dug around the area to be fortified, and its contents were thrown inwards so as to form a ridge or bank of earth from 15 to 50, or even 30 ft. high, and of breadth in proportion. The ditch, when not at too high a level, was supplied with water from the Ouse. This new work included a space about three times the area of the Roman station, and probably corresponded with the latest extension of the Roman city. The new area, though not, like the

Roman post, rigidly rectangular, was more or less so, and for the most part contained within straight lines, meeting at right angles, or nearly so. As the Roman wall and tower at the south-west angle were standing and tolerably perfect, they were accepted as part of the new defence, but from that wall to the Ouse a bank and ditch were carried straight, 114 yards, to what is now known as Lendal tower. In the opposite direction, as the Roman wall was already broken down, the bank was heaped up over it, and so contained, and probably still contains it, along the edge of the Dean's garden as far as the north-west angle. The two lines, however, of the bank and the wall, do not precisely coincide, and the wall is the more direct and even of the two. From the multangular tower, nearly to the north-east angle, 860 yards, the wall is slightly in the rear of the bank, though more or less covered up by its slope; but at about 40 yards from the angle, the wall, which had very gradually approached, crosses the line obliquely, so that at the angle it is in front of the wall, the ditch of which must have much encroached upon the site of the tower, no doubt then a mere ruin. From the angle the bank, still covering up the remains of the wall, is continued about 452 yards in the direction of and beyond Monk Bar. At two points, namely, in Mr. Gray's garden and in a court opening from the Bar, the inner skirt of the bank has been cut away and the wall below it brought to light. Further on, near the site of St. Helen's church, the wall turned at a right angle, and no doubt had a multangular tower. This, however, is gone. Along this front the wall is mostly a little in the rear of the bank. At the north angle it nearly coincides with, or may be a trifle outside it, but, after the crossing, the lines slightly diverge, and at the east angle are about 4 ft. apart. This want of coincidence is caused by the irregularity of the bank. This discrepancy tends still further to show that the wall was practically destroyed, and of no use as a defence, when the bank was cast up. At the point marked as the site of St. Helen's church, the earthwork leaves the line of the wall, and is continued alone, in the same general line, for 150 yards, when it forms a re-entering angle, nearly a right one, and turns outwards, descending the gentle slope of the ground, until at 104 yards it ceases at Layerthorpe on the bank of the Foss. The earthwork was there stopped because it was

no longer needed. The Foss, then, and long afterwards, was not only a broad and deep, though sluggish stream, but was connected with a broad tract of marsh, neither land nor water, and in itself an excellent defence. From hence the Foss seems to have been the boundary of the new area for about 900 yards, when it passes off towards the Ouse, including within its waters a long tongue of land, now St. George's Field, then a marsh, which, though on the right bank of the Foss, was of course left outside the line of defence. Probably the bank recommenced at the re-entering bend of the Foss, and was carried across the site of the later castle direct to the Ouse, where about 70 yards of it are still seen. Thus it was that, partly by the Roman wall and tower, partly by the Foss river, and mainly by a great earthwork, were completed the defences of the city north of the Ouse.

South of that river there was no older wall to fetter or affect the course of the bank. It commenced at Skeldergate, on the Ouse, and reached to the Bishop-Hill angle, about 243 yards, much of which part of it has since been modified by the earthwork of the Bayle Hill. From the angle, which is almost a right one, the bank is continued about 720 yards in a nearly straight line, where, turning at rather above a right angle, it is continued in two straight lengths of 220 and 307 yards, connected by a very large angle, until it abuts upon the river at Northgate Postern, opposite to Lendal tower, and thus includes the suburb now known as Micklegate.

Such are the earthworks, north and south of the Ouse, of which there remain nearly 3000 yards in length. What is their age? and by whom were they constructed? Not by the Romans, for they rest upon Roman buildings which had been destroyed and more or less buried before the earthworks were commenced. Scarcely by the Picts and Scots, invaders from the north, who came down from time to time in force to burn and destroy, but never to settle or construct. Scarcely by the Saxons or early English, for these seldom, if ever, employed straight lines in their works of defence, and certainly never on so extended a scale. On the whole, it seems most probable that after the withdrawal of the Roman Legions, and the occurrence of a few very destructive invasions from beyond the northern border, the Roman-

ized Britons, having still much to defend, made a great effort to enclose their overgrown city, and though not equal to so great a work in masonry, constructed a work in earth which presents, as was to be expected, many indications of Roman castrametation. Should this supposition be sound, it will account, not only for these works, but for such banks of this class as Wallingford, Wareham, and Tamworth, which, though laid out in rectangular areas, do not stand upon any great Roman roads, present no traces of Roman occupation, and the banks and ditches of which are on a larger scale than was usual with the Romans, whose temporary works were but slight, and who usually employed masonry for those of a more permanent character. The same admixture of British with Roman blood and customs which produced in Ambrosius Aurelianus a chieftain of mixed descent, might well have manifested itself in such works as those of York.

Of the interval between the departure of the Legions and the first establishment of Deira as a Saxon kingdom, a period of about sixty years, but little has been recorded. It was the period during which the failing energy of the Britons once, and once only, blazed up, and under the leadership of the Gaulish St. Germain, gained, over the Picts and Saxons, the celebrated Hallelujah victory. Probably it was about this time, during the first quarter of the fifth century, that these earthworks were executed. How the British rule was carried on, and what degree of civilization was retained by the Romanized natives, is a matter rather of conjecture than of proof. The Metropolitan supremacy of the city was, however, maintained, for it comes to light about the middle of the sixth century; no longer, indeed, as a Christian centre, the British Sampson, who presided over the Church, having been driven into Brittany, but as the Pagan capital of Deira, under the sway of the Saxon Ælle. In the seventh century, York was again a flourishing city, and once more was penetrated by the leaven of Christianity. Here Paulinus, in A.D. 626, baptised the founder of Edinburgh, who testified his faith by the construction of a chapel of timber, the humble precursor of that "*ampla ecclesia*," the great Minster of the North. The earlier churches, with the Roman temples and Basilicæ, had, no doubt, long been destroyed. York had its full share of the calamities which drenched the land with gore

during the slow foundation of the English commonwealth. It was burned in 758, during the Archbishoprick of Egbert, brother to Eadbert King of Northumbria. In 867 it was taken by Inguar and Ubba, the sons of the Danish Lodbrog, who severely avenged their father's death upon the lands watered by the Ouse, massacred the inhabitants, and destroyed the city which, though fortified, does not seem to have been vigorously defended, nor is mention made of the Castle. Gudrun, a Danish chief who held the city during the absence of Inguar and Ubba, is thought still to be remembered by the association of his name with one of its principal streets. It is to this period that, judging from material evidence, the only evidence afforded, may most probably be attributed the completion of the earthworks as we now see them, upon the south-eastern part of the city, upon and beyond the Foss. The dangers which York had most to apprehend during the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries, that is from the first appearance of the Vikings upon the shores of Britain, came chiefly from the east, and by the way of the Humber and the Ouse. Hence the defence of the city on that side, and against a maritime foe, became a matter of vital importance to the Saxon settlers, who had to defend themselves against a brood later from the bowels of the north, and possessing all that fierceness of which civilisation had to some extent deprived their predecessors. The first object was to defend the river. We learn from the Saxon Chronicle that the English way of effecting this was to cast up two large mounds, one upon each bank. Thus in the 8th and 9th centuries were defended Nottingham and Hertford, Stamford and Buckingham, and thus would naturally be defended York. Such is doubtless the origin of the Castle mound on the left bank of the Ouse, and the Bayle Hill on the right bank, which may therefore reasonably be attributed to the ninth century. A mound was the usual accompaniment of the "aula" or chief residence of a great English landowner, and in no part of England are these moated eminences more abundant than in Yorkshire. The date of many is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle, and close analogy affords a clue to that of most of the others. Usually they are accompanied by a circular ditch surrounding the mound, while on one side, also included within its proper ditch, is a base court of more or less of a half round or of a horse-shoe

figure. Wigmore, of which the date is recorded, is an excellent example of such a work, as is Tickhill, and on a smaller scale, Barwick-in-Elmete and Laughton-en-le-Morthen. The York mounds are of the same character. The Castle Hill had, until recently, its proper ditch, fed from the Foss, and isolating it from the lower ward, now disfigured by the Assize Courts and prisons, but which also had its ditches of which the Foss formed, and does still form, a part. The mound, wholly artificial, is placed 120 yards from the Ouse, is at least 50 ft. high, above 100 ft. diameter at the top, and had a very steep slope. The ditch around it was 50 ft. broad, and of the depth of the communicating river. The annexed lower and larger area, of horse-shoe form, was about 170 yards in breadth, where it rested upon the ditch of the mound, and projected about 125 yards from thence to the Foss, its defence upon the north, east, and south sides, while to the west was its own ditch and that of the mound. Thus, the whole work was an oval of above 550 yards by 170 yards within its ditches, having the mound at one end, and the lower court at the other, each with its proper ditch, and a cross ditch common to the two; a very common arrangement in the military earthworks of England and Normandy, though not often upon so large a scale.

So also the Bayle Hill, a rather smaller mound of the same pattern, about 70 ft. diameter at the top, placed 100 yards from the Ouse, had its ditch, now filled up and traversed by the later defences, and that this surrounded the hill and was fed from the Ouse, is clear from the evidence of Leland, and from the depression in the later wall where it crosses the line of the ditch in order to rest upon the slope of the mound. The Bayle had also its lower appendages at the western side, traces of the ditch of which are even now visible. Like the Castle Hill, its base is about 40 ft. above the river, and it is placed upon a sort of natural ridge, known as Bishop-Hill, which is continued outside the walls, and which was commanded by the mound. Although the whole area of the lower ward of this work cannot be precisely traced, it must have been spacious, for it included the present prison, and the remains of the ditch are 150 yards from the centre of the mound.

The Castle mound of York seems to have existed before the reign of Athelstan (922), who demolished a fortress thrown up by the Danes, and divided the spoil found within

it. Demolition is to be understood as confined to the superstructure, not to extend to the earthworks of these early fortresses.

Thus, by the construction of these two mounds and their appendant works, the city, upon its eastern side, was defended from such as attacked it by the river, but to complete the defence on this side something further was thought necessary. The Danes came in their own ships, and would have ascended the river to the outskirts of the city, and, the Ouse being closed by its defences, might thence have ascended the Foss, and attacked above the castle, encamping on the ground east of it, which was about 45 ft. in level above the Foss Island marsh. An area was therefore traced out, beyond the Foss, which included the high ground, and thus, covering the one river and flanking the other, made an attack on that side a service of danger. The Walmgate, as the new outwork is called, is fortified by a curved bank, in the English manner, which, with its exterior ditch, extends about 880 yards, resting on the Foss Island marsh at one end, and on the Foss itself at Fishergate on the other. A glance at the map will show how completely this part of the city was protected by the Walmgate work beyond the Foss, by the Foss itself, by the castle in its rear, and by the Bayle Hill and its connected works beyond the Ouse. It is remarkable that such Saxon remains of buildings as are found in York are contained within the two suburbs of Walmgate and Micklegate. Saxon interments in great number are found about the city, many laid above those of the Romans, as the British remains are laid below them. The site of Walmgate was traversed by a Roman road, but no Roman remains have been found within it, nor is there any reason to regard it as representing a Roman settlement. To the centuries preceding the Norman Conquest may also be attributed several conical mounds at various points outside the city, such as Heyworth Mount, the poor remains of which are seen 680 yards from Layerthorpe Bridge; Lamel (la-muele) Hill, about 400 yards outside Walmgate Bar; Siward's Mount, near the Heslington road, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Walmgate Bar, about 126 ft. diameter at its base and 54 ft. at its summit, and 17 ft. high—probably its flat top is due to its having been used as a battery; the Nun Hill on the Bishopthorpe road, 600 yards from Skeldergate; the Mount, 600 yards south-west of

Micklegate Bar ; and a Mount near it, now removed. Of these, Lamel Hill was found to contain a Saxon interment, and all are evidently sepulchral tumuli. They are or have been crowned with windmills, and served as batteries during the Parliamentary siege of York. The Hill bearing the name of Severus is evidently natural.

Such appears to have been the condition of the city, as regarded its defences, during the centuries preceding the Conquest ; but if, on the one hand, these formidable fortifications tended to repel enemies, on the other hand the great wealth of the inhabitants operated as a still stronger attraction to invite them. Still, notwithstanding the Danish invasions and spoilings, the vitality of the city continued strong. Alcuin, who wrote in the same century in which lived Inguar and Ubba, commemorates its wealth and splendour, its love of literature indicated by the volumes in the Cathedral library, and its great commercial prosperity. Asser, the biographer of Alfred, who wrote at the close of the ninth century, was educated in the foundation preceding St. Mary's, under Bishop Albert, whose predecessor, Egbert, had there been visited by Bede. He refers to the defences of the city both as "*mœnia*" and "*muros*," and says the walls which were broken down in the Danish war, A.D. 867, were not at that time firm and strong, which implies that they were so when he wrote. In 923, the city fell before Ragnald, a Northman ; and after the middle of the eleventh century, when Deira was passing into Yorkshire, occurred here the death of Siward, the celebrated Earl of Northumberland, a grand old warrior, who was also a liberal contributor to the church of York, and gave so largely to St. Olaf's, where he was buried, as to be among the reputed founders of that very celebrated monastery. Rather later in the century, York was disturbed by the oppression exercised by Tostig, against whom the whole province rose, and a gemote was held here in 1065, at which, says Freeman, both English and Danish blood were represented. The object of the assembly was, in truth, the breaking up of the kingdom, and the provincial movement was aided by the Mercians and the Welsh. Happily, however, wiser councils prevailed, peace was purchased by a limited concession, and Tostig, against whom the revolt was directed, was banished. The defences of York were, however, once more to be tried

before the coming of the Normans. In the fated year 1066, Tostig, encouraged by his northern allies, hovered over the English shore, and uniting with Hardrada, entered the Humber, and they laid up their ships at Riccal, nine miles below the city. Edwin and Morker at last left their seats at Laughton and Barwick, and mustered their forces at York, and the armies met at Gate-Fulford, two miles down the river. The two English earls were beaten, and York surrendered, and agreed to give hostages at Stamford Bridge, though the actual handing over is thought to have taken place at Aldby, where a mound and foss still indicate the residence of the Northumbrian kings. But though the earls had failed, Harold,—

“ — the Champion risen in arms to try
His country's virtue,”—

was not wanting to his duty. Notwithstanding the impending invasion from the South, he marched at once to York, resting neither day nor night. He reached Tadcaster while the Metropolitan city was actually capitulating, entered it without resistance, left it without delay, and fought and won the great battle of Stamford Bridge. Again he marched through York, and upon the Derwent came up with the Norwegian reserves. These he put to flight, and slew their redoubtable chief; and finally, after spending two days in York, he marched southward to lay down his life for England at Hastings. York was thus a witness to the last and noblest effort of the great English leader to free his northern capital from the invader; and so, with her defences sorely broken down, and with but little military credit of her own, she awaited the approach of the Normans.

The Norman Conquest found York a very considerable city, and if her military reputation at that period stood low, events showed this to be due rather to the want of a leader than to any deficiency of courage in the citizens. The city was at this time composed of seven divisions called “shires,” of which one, containing the mound known as the “old Bayle,” then and long afterwards belonged to the Archbishop. There were 1800 “mansiones hospitatae,” that is, houses paying customary rents—and two castles. The city ditch is also mentioned, in which, “in fossato urbis,” were situated certain “mansiones.” Bank and ditch there certainly then were, and

as Asser mentions walls in the tenth century, it is not improbable that such then existed, as they certainly did at Exeter and Hereford. Had, however, the masonry been of a very substantial character, some trace of it would probably still remain, which does not appear to be the case. William visited York for the first time in the summer of 1068. The citizens received him with submission, and as usual he ordered a castle to be built, and, equally as usual, as at Cambridge, Oxford, Warwick, Lincoln, the place selected was the mound of the existing stronghold. Its construction and defence were entrusted to William Malet, Robert Fitz-Richard, Gilbert of Ghent, and 500 selected knights. Malet, who had distinguished himself at Hastings, was Sheriff of Yorkshire and a large landholder in the shire. At York, William received the acknowledgment of his supremacy from Malcolm of Scotland, and in person from Æthelwine, Bishop of Durham, and Archill, a great Northumbrian Thane. It appears from Domesday that of the seven shires of the city, one was laid waste in the construction of the castle; and the houses were reduced from 1800 to about 1036. Probably the people had been allowed to encroach up to the castle ditch, and it was thought necessary to clear an esplanade beyond it. The submission of York was due to temporary circumstances, and was apparent only. In the following year, 1069, the citizens rose against the Norman garrison, and killed Robert Fitz-Richard. They were joined by Eadgar the Ætheling from Scotland, and by the men of Northumbria; and the castle was beleaguered. It was more than a rebellion; it was a revolt. Of course but little could have been done in so short a time towards the substitution of masonry for the lighter English works, which were probably of timber, or at least of walling without mortar, and Malet must have confined his exertions to strengthening what was already in existence. The position, indeed, even if only stockaded, was a very strong one, and Malet, though much alarmed and well aware of the danger, held out until the king came to his assistance, burned the city, defiled the Minster, and punished the citizens. William now ordered a second castle to be constructed upon the Bayle Hill. That this was a mere stockade is clear from the fact that it was completed in eight days, before he left the city. Rapidly as the works were executed, still the

post must have been strong, for the mound was high and steep, its ditches broad and deep, and filled with water from the river. But, though such works were capable of being held safely by a few resolute men, as at Wigmore against an army, for a limited time, the defences were of a character familiar to the English, and would not strike them with the same terror as the lofty keeps of stone which the Normans had lately begun to build in Normandy, and which William himself was commencing in London. William Fitz-Osborne was placed in charge of this second castle, which must have much resembled that of the chief seat of his own earldom at Hereford. But even this double bridle failed to restrain the fierce spirit of the English. After a brief rising, which was put down by William's lieutenants, the people organized a fresh and more serious attack, and called to their aid their kinsmen from beyond the sea. The Danes, however, wasted their strength in a series of attacks upon the east coast from Dover to Ipswich and Norwich, and it was not till September, 1069, that the raven standard again floated over the waters of the Humber. On this occasion the Danes came as allies of their kinsfolk of York, and were so received. While yet upon the river they were joined by the Ætheling and the great English earls who had taken refuge with him in Scotland. The rising threatened William's throne. He charged Malet and Gilbert of Ghent to hold firm, and received from them the assurance that they were safe for a year. They must have repented sorely of their pledge when they beheld the whole population of the city with their Danish allies swarming thick as wasps around the castle. Probably the garrison which would be sufficient to curb a moderate insurrection would be powerless against a force numerous enough to take and hold the works of Walmgate, and thus render unavailing the outworks of the castle on its eastern point. The garrison had to confine itself to the actual defences of the fortress itself. They at once fired the adjacent houses to clear the way for their operations, and, the fire extending, burned a great part of the city, during which they sallied out in force. They were intercepted. Waltheof, well surnamed "the strong," in personal vigour and headlong courage the worthy son of Earl Siward, stood by the narrow postern, and as the files of Normans rushed out from the castle, slew all who came

within the sweep of his weapon. He was well supported by his Danish friends. Three thousand Normans were said to have been slain. The castle fell, and the two commanders were taken prisoners. The new defences were destroyed, probably by fire, and the North again was free. The numbers engaged, with every allowance for exaggeration, show that the garrison occupied not merely the mound or citadel, but also the lower ward.

Unfortunately for the English, they had now no leader capable of meeting William in the field, nor even of retaining under arms the men who had won so bloody a victory. The Danes retired to their ships, and the countrymen to their lands and fastnesses. Victory and defeat were alike fatal to an army so composed. The news, indeed, found William heavily engaged in the west with armed disaffection and rebellion on every side. Scarcely less wroth with those whose ill-grounded confidence had misled him than with the English who had shaken his throne, he put himself at the head of a force of cavalry, fell in with the retreating Danes in the parts of Lindesey, himself quelled a rising at Stafford, and as winter advanced, had reached the banks of the Aire taken possession of the moated mound of Castleford, and directed the foundation of the strong castle of Pontefract. From thence, he marched to York, and, such the terror of his name, entered the city unopposed. He directed the castles to be again renewed, and then was carried out that wide and terrible devastation of the northern counties, necessary perhaps to enable him to hold England, but which has loaded his name with infamy. Upon the completion of his cruel task he kept the Christmas of 1069-70 amidst the blackened ruins of York. Christmas past, William visited Durham; put down a considerable rising in the country about the Tees, and, after an absence of a few weeks, returned, for the last time, to York. The conquest was effected.

With the Norman Conquest began a new period with the defences of York. When these were executed, whether they were commenced by the Conqueror or by his immediate successors, is uncertain, and a problem only to be solved, if at all, by a careful study of what remains of the mediæval masonry. These works, which display fragments of almost every age from the end of the eleventh

or the commencement of the twelfth century down to the present day, have as yet been found to exhibit no masonry which can be attributed to an earlier date than the reign of William, if indeed there be anything as early. No doubt the walls and gates now existing, stand on the line of and replace or represent the works which, whether of timber or stone, preceded or immediately followed upon the Norman Conquest. These works, in their earliest form, crowned the mounds and banks of the more remote period as their successors are still seen to do, and the earth-works, even then consolidated by time, were in a condition to bear without danger of settlement any load of masonry that might be laid upon them. Their great height and breadth, and their exterior ditches, rendered it unnecessary to raise the curtains and mural towers to any considerable elevation, and gave to their defenders an immense advantage.

Before, or while speculating upon the date or uses of the various parts of the existing defences, it will be convenient to pass them in general review.

At the point at which the Ouse entered the city two towers were built upon the bank, and partly in the water, from the basements of which a stout chain guarded the passage. Leland describes it as "a chain of Yren to caste over the Owse." The winch for raising and depressing it was probably in the basement of the Lendal tower, and each end of the chain passed through a loop or hawsehole, traces of which are still visible, though the machinery for working the chain, which was probably a heavy one, is gone. The tower on the left bank, known as Lendal, is rectangular in plan, 42 ft. on the river face, and 18 ft. deep. Its upstream angle is boldly rounded off, and that in its rear capped by a round turret of three-quarter projection, which stood in the tower ditch, and contained a stair. Near it a postern led into St. Mary's Abbey precinct. From Lendal tower, the city wall, built on the ridge of the high bank, with a very shallow foundation, passed 114 yards until it struck the Roman wall, which superseded it, turning at a right angle, without earthbank, for 63 yards, until it ended in the multangular tower, raised and looped as already described, and the base of which is about 30 ft. above the river. All this part of the mediæval defence is seen from

the museum garden, where the earthbank and wall have been recently cut through, and a new lodge built at the garden entrance. The battlements of the wall were reached here by interior stone steps, the bases of which seem to have rested on earthen ramps now removed.

Beyond the Roman tower the city wall begins again, and passed off 217 yards upon the bank to Bootham Bar. The latter two-thirds of this distance has been removed with the earthwork, and the ditch filled up, to make way for a modern crescent, but Halfpenny's view, published in 1807, shows the whole wall from the tower to the Bar with its earthen base and buttresses of two setts-off, of which many still remain and seem to be of Decorated date. So far the wall is covered by the fortified area of St. Mary's Abbey, which formed a sort of outwork on this side. It will be convenient to describe the Bars afterwards.

Beyond Bootham Bar the wall is produced in a tolerably straight line, along the ridge of the bank, for 316 yards to the north-east angle of the city. Upon it are about twenty-nine buttresses, at unequal distances, some original, others added at various times to support the wall from the outside. Besides these are five bastions, that is to say, mural towers of the height of the wall. The two next the Bar are mere half-hexagonal bays. The other three are about a quarter round. None appear ever to have been higher than the wall, which also here is far too thin to allow of a rampart walk. It has no doubt been often repaired, but its base looks old, and probably the walk was a timber gallery upon struts. There is no tower at the north-east angle, which is rounded, as though built upon the Roman lines, and capped by a small buttress.

From hence the wall, still built upon the bank, passed at right angles in a nearly straight but somewhat irregular line, 340 yards, to Monk Bar, called also Goodrun-Bar. Leland writes of ten towers on the wall between Bootham and Monk Bar, but at present there are thirty-three buttresses and but one half-round bay or bastion. The ditch which, upon the north-east front, has been filled up and built upon, is here left uncovered, though nearly filled up. Along its counterscarp is a broad way known as "the Lord Mayor's Walk." The ground from the Roman tower to Monk Bar is level or nearly so, and a part of the platform is covered by

the Minster and its appendant buildings. From the Bar the descent begins towards the Foss.

From Monk Bar the wall continues 112 yards to the point at which the foundations of the Roman wall turn westward, and where was, no doubt, a multangular tower. Beyond this point, for 56 yards, the wall deviates slightly outwards from the straight line, and thus reaches a half-round bastion opposite the Merchant Tailors' Hall. From thence it curves very slightly inwards for 94 yards, and there forms a re-entering angle occupied by a low drum tower, or rather bastion, of half projection and 18 ft. diameter. From thence the wall passes off at a right angle for 105 yards, and still on the bank, descends until it terminates near the Foss in a small, nearly circular turret, but of rather irregular figure, corbelled out upon the end of the wall. Here the wall now stops, but it was continued along the margin of the water as far as the then adjacent bridge, upon which was built the Layerthorpe Postern. This was a rectangular tower, pierced by a low pointed passage above which was a first floor, with a long loop towards the bridge; and above it, in the second floor, a square opening.

The Postern tower was in fact a regular gatehouse, placed on the city end of the bridge, provided with a portcullis and gates. It was removed, with the bridge, in the present century. At this postern the wall ended. From Monk Bar to Layerthorpe the wall was thus divided into three unequal sections. Upon the first part are eighteen buttresses, upon the second five, and upon the third part eleven. In front of all this part of the wall the ditch remains visible and open, though scarcely to its full depth. The wall on either side of the re-entering angle looks old, and both it and some of its flat buttresses have a late Norman aspect. The wall itself is not above 2 ft. 6 in. thick, but an arcade of round-headed arches of Decorated date has been built against it, on the inside on the bank, and carries the rampart wall. That this arcade is an addition, and of far later date than the wall, is evident from the absence of bond, and from the character of the masonry, which is Decorated.

The Foss at Layerthorpe was an excellent defence for some centuries after the Conquest. In the reign of Edward I. it was a part of the mill-pool, and a valuable fishery, and in

that of Edward III. it appears as the "Stagnum Regis," no doubt being held by the crown as an appendage to the castle mill. Leland says, "for two flite shottes the broad and depe water of Foss comming out of the forest of Galtres, defendeth this part of the Cyte without waulle." Leland's two arrow flights are about 432 yards, at which distance the ground rises, and the wall recommences beyond the Foss at the Red or Brimstone tower, a small rectangular blockhouse of red brick, once used as a brimstone manufactory, and which is mentioned in the 5th of Elizabeth, when it could not have been very old. Both wall and bank recommence at this tower, fencing in the suburb of Walmgate. The wall, here not above 10 to 12 ft. high above the bank, takes a slightly convex course for 332 yards, when it reaches Walmgate Bar. Upon it were three towers, and are now six buttresses. The ditch, which was broad and deep, and full of water, is now quite filled up.

From Walmgate Bar to Fishergate Bar the wall measures 370 yards, and is laid out in an irregular curve. It is strengthened by seven buttresses, besides one which is broad and flat, and caps a low salient. Here also the ditch is filled up, and the earthwork covers the foundations of the wall. Fishergate Bar is not usually counted among the regular Bars of York. It is a large round-headed archway in the curtain, with two lateral shoulder-headed passages for foot traffic. It is 29 ft. high, and of the same breadth, and with a projection forwards upon the curtain of 15 ft. It has no superstructure, and is part of no regular gatehouse, but as it still shows a half-round groove it certainly had a portcullis, and probably there was some kind of wall above to screen the grate when lifted. If the side doors be original they may have opened into mural galleries in the base of a barbican, as in the spur outwork covering the water gate at Beaumaris. This bar is said to have been constructed in the fourteenth century. It was ruined by the rebels in the reign of Henry VII., and was blocked up in Leland's time and until recently, when it was opened and repaired. An inscription upon it states that 60 yards of the adjacent wall were rebuilt in 1445.

From Fishergate Bar the wall passes straight for 70 yards, having upon it but one buttress. It then makes a re-entering angle, and turns obliquely off for 32 yards when it reaches a

large irregularly rectangular bastion, 21 ft. by 18 ft., which caps an acute salient, and contains, below the rampart level, a chamber with a fireplace. From this point the wall is continued north-west for 38 yards, when it makes another angle, a low salient, and at 35 yards further the bank and wall end in Fishergate Postern and tower, which formerly rested upon the Foss just opposite to the castle, but are now separated from the river by a street and several houses. Between Walmgate Bar and Fishergate Postern, were formerly three towers: one, being attached to the Postern Fishergate, except the gate-houses, is the largest mediæval tower remaining connected with the city walls. It is rectangular, 27 ft. broad by 21 ft. deep, and its two outer angles are capped by flat pilasters, which meet and form a solid angle. It has a basement on the ground level, and two upper floors. The entrance is in the former, in the rear, by a doorway with a four-centred head. On one face is a garde-robe on corbels, on the first floor. This tower seems to have been originally Early English in its style, but to have been rebuilt and otherwise altered in the Perpendicular period. In the curtain, close to the tower, between it and the end of the bank, is a postern for foot-passengers, evidently original, and probably of the early Decorated period. It has a high pointed arch, and had a portcullis, one groove of which is cut in the wall of the tower, and being stopped a little above the crest of the present parapet, shows the height to which the grate could be raised. Probably the original parapet was somewhat higher, so as to screen the grate when up.

The wall of Walmgate, from the Red Tower to the Fishergate Postern, deserves close attention. It crests the earth-bank all along, but where the bank has slipped away, or in part been removed, it is seen that the wall stands upon arches, some round, some slightly pointed, some flattish or segmental, probably having been patched, and all of rude masonry, mere foundation work, and evidently intended to be concealed. Outside, above this, at the top level of the bank, the wall rises from a plain ashlar base with a chamfered offset. The base or plinth, and the arches below, are no doubt Norman, but most of the buttresses and the greater part of the wall seem Decorated, as certainly is more or less of the parapet. In some of the merlons are cruciform

loops with round ends, and the top of each loop rises under a little gable into the slope of the coping, with a trefoiled head of simple and elegant design. The wall, whatever may be the age of its base and of much of its superstructure, has evidently been roughly used, and much altered by restoration. It has a broad rampart walk, which rests in many places upon an arcade, nearly buried, and elsewhere seems solid. This appears to be of the date of the wall, but repeated repairs have concealed the lines of junction so that the point is uncertain. It is evident that this construction was adopted from distrust of the existing bank, and to avoid the labour of sinking through it, all along, to the natural surface for a secure foundation. Where it is employed it shews the bank to be older than the wall. No doubt, a wall so built was very liable to be mined. Precisely the same thing is seen at the old castle wall at Southampton, where the piers have recently been uncovered and the bank removed, so that the wall looks like a Roman aqueduct. There also the ground is sound and firm. Fishergate Tower stands on ground very little above the level of the Foss, and when built probably stood upon its very bank, though now about 64 yards of made ground intervene. Here the Foss was crossed by the dam or weir of the Castle Mills, a formidable work, the date of which is unknown, though probably executed in connection with the Castle mound, and to the obstruction created by which the silting up of the Foss Island must be attributed, and which, when first made, served the double purpose of keeping full the castle ditches and the Foss at Layerthorpe, and of providing water-power for the Castle Mills. A bridge now crosses the river at this point close under what remains of the castle wall. Below the bridge the river forms a deep pool, about 80 yards broad. This bridge was built or rebuilt 4 Henry IV., and is described by Leland. Upon one of its up-stream piers stood a chapel dedicated to St. Ann or Agnes, and like London Bridge it was crowded with houses. At the bridge foot, but lower down, on the right bank, was placed St. George's Chapel.

The Castle Mills stood, where their modern representatives stand, just outside the castle ditch, and below a round tower on its wall.

The mural defences of the city were thus interrupted between Fishergate Tower and the castle by about 306 yards of water, a space now occupied partly by the Foss and

partly by encroachments upon its banks. From this point for about 157 yards, the outer wall and ditch of the castle formed the defence common to the castle and city, and here was the Castle Postern, which communicated with the mills.

The city wall recommenced on the counterscarp of the castle ditch, on what is now called Castlegate Street, and in the wall was a footgate from the city called Castlegate Postern, removed in 1826. There the bank began again, and the wall was continued along it 70 yards to the Ouse, and ended at New Walk Postern and Water-tower, now removed, but the name of which is preserved in Tower Place. This part of the wall is very low, and had a ditch, which may have connected the castle ditch with the Ouse. No great strength of wall was here required, the ground in front being occupied by the mill-pool and the marsh of St. George's Field, now converted into a pleasant promenade.

Skeldergate Ferry, by which the Ouse is here traversed, seems to have led to another water-tower, with which the wall recommenced, and in it was Skeldergate Postern, represented by a modern arch. This name is said to come from the kelders or cellars in which the merchants in this quarter of the city stored their goods, as in the old town at Edinburgh; though it is certainly curious that they should have selected the lowest part of the city for such receptacles. From the archway the ground rises rapidly up the Bayle Hill, upon the side of which the wall is built, being slightly bowed outwards in plan to leave the top of the hill free, and a little in the rear of the wall. It is evident that there was a ditch all round the hill, most of which has been filled up, and the wall carried across it. Outside the wall the Bayle ditch and that of the city coincided, and the excavation was broad and deep. It is now mostly filled up by Bishop-Hill Street, so called from the archbishop's shire, of which all this formed a part. The suburb here is Clementsthorpe, named from the Benedictine nunnery of St. Clement, founded in 1130, and of which exist a few traces of the church and enceinte wall, within the area of which a tessellated pavement was discovered.

Two hundred and forty-three yards from the Ouse, the wall makes a sharp turn westwards, and is capped by a round bastion 21 ft. diameter, vaulted below the rampart level, and entered by a low door in the gorge. This part of

the wall has three buttresses, and a half-round bastion. It seems original, and may be built on arches, which however are not seen. From the angle the wall runs nearly direct to Micklegate Bar, 568 yards. There the rampart is reached by thirty-three steps. Upon the wall are four half-round bastions, and a half hexagon, and about twenty-four buttresses. Leland mentions nine towers. The bank is high, and the wall is built against it so as to show more in the front than in the rear, where the earth forms a ramp. The ditch was very formidable, and at least 50 yards broad, and about forty feet deep. It is now filled up. Probably it was dry, or nearly so, for the natural surface here is about 22 ft. above the top water of the river.

From the Bar the wall runs straight 152 yards to a salient overlooking the old Friars' Garden, now the railway station, the railway passing through the bend and beneath the wall under a modern four-centred arch of broad span. This part of the wall is very lofty, and is besides upon a very high bank. It has probably settled a good deal, for it is propped by twenty-four buttresses, and a small square bastion. The capping bastion of the angle is irregular in shape. Here the wall makes nearly a right angle, and passes north-east 527 yards to the Ouse, having on its course a salient at a very large angle. The bank is irregular, sinking towards the river, and the wall varies in height. Here are four small bastions, and about a dozen buttresses. In Leland's time were eleven towers between Micklegate Bar and the Ouse. The wall ends in a round water tower, which received one end of the Lendal chain. Just within the tower is the North Street Postern, now a modern archway. This part of the defence was very strong, the bank and wall being mostly high, and the ditch, which is only now being filled up, being broad and deep, and fed from the river.

This part of the wall has been cut through to form a road to the new railway station. The opening showed scarcely any foundation, but the colour of the soil made it evident that the bank had been much cut into and patched.

Leland says the circuit of the walls is $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles nearly, and Lockwood makes them 4707 yards, or 2 miles, 5 furlongs, 87 yards. The ordnance survey of the city, an admirable work, executed with extreme accuracy and

minuteness to a scale of $1\frac{1}{56}$ or 5 ft. to the mile, and showing all the antiquities, tallies very closely with this, but this includes the open spaces at Layerthorpe and Fishergate. Omitting these, and the breadths of the Ouse, the length of the actual wall is 3671 yards, or 2 miles, 15 yards. There are six bridges, Ouse and Layerthorpe, of five arches each ; Monk Bridge, of three arches ; Foss Bridge, of two ; Castle Gate, of one ; and St. Mary's, a new iron bridge, replacing Lendal Ferry. None of these are old, though some of them replace earlier, and one or two very early structures. The Roman bridge seems to have crossed the Ouse opposite to the present Guildhall, the very curious vault and boat-house attached to which are, however, of far later date.

Leland mentions several towers upon the city walls. At this time there remain, beside the gate-houses, but four, Lendal, the opposite North-gate Tower, the Roman Tower, and that at Fishergate Postern. Besides these, there are records of two water-towers, corresponding to Lendal and North-gate, at the lower end of the city. Nor are there traces of any more. Had such existed, their foundations must have been carried down through the bank to the solid ground, and some trace of them would have remained. The bays and bastions still remaining upon the walls are not of substance to have carried lofty superstructures, and probably were always much as at present. The only solution is that by the term "towers," Leland did not mean lofty structures, but bastions.

Besides the eight posterns, Lendal, Layerthorpe, Fishergate, Castle, Castle-gate, New Walk, Skeldergate, and North-gate, already noticed, there were four great gates or bars, Bootham, Monkbar, Walmgate, and Micklegate, to which may be added Fishergate Bar. Besides these an opening has been made for the railway, and one for its passengers. There is also in Micklegate a new opening called Victoria Bar.

The four Bars deserve special notice. They are all structures of great interest, in part very old, and though not equal in grandeur to the Upper Bar at Southampton, nor to the West Gate at Canterbury, they belong to a greater city, and are part of a far superior line of defence. They are upon lines of Roman road, and one is certainly upon, or

rather above, the site of a Roman gate, though none can claim in any degree a Roman origin. But though not, as was long fondly supposed, Roman, their older parts are probably older than any part of the walls upon which they stand. As church builders began with the choir, so the fortifiers of towns often began with the gates, and sometimes, as probably at Richmond, went no further. At York it would seem that the Norman works commenced, though they did not conclude, with the gates. Of the bars, Bootham and Monk Bars are to the north, and Micklegate to the south of the Ouse, while Walmgate is beyond the Foss. They are alike in general plan and character, and have undergone very much the same sort of changes, additions, and restorations.

Bootham Bar, the west gate of the city, is on the site, though much above the level, of the Roman gate. It is in plan rectangular, 24 ft. broad by 21 ft. deep, pierced centrally by the gateway, the arches at each end of which are half circles, or nearly so, with plain chamfered abaci or caps at the springing. There are two portcullis grooves, one of which contains the grate of oak bars 4 in. by 3 in., framed in squares of 7 in., plated and spiked with iron, and having in it a small wicket. The passage has a flat timber roof. There is a first, second, and third floor, the whole being about 46 ft. high, and on each side are openings for foot passengers, probably additions. Two buttresses flank the outer portal, and ascend to the top of the upper floor, the level of which is marked by a string, and at which commence two cylindrical bartizan turrets, which cap the two angles, resting on the buttresses and on two corbels. Each turret has a long cruciform loop towards the field, and in the curtain between them are two small square-headed windows. The parapet, which is plain, has a string not continued round the turrets. Upon its coping are three stone warriors at full length. In the upper stage is a tablet with the royal arms, now defaced, within a garter, and on either side a shield of those of the city. The inner arch is also flanked by buttresses, which terminate in flat pilasters, which also support bartizans. In the first floor are two small lancet openings, and above on the parapet are more stone warriors. In the outer front two small shoulder-headed doorways show the level of the ramparts of the Barbican, an enclosure 50 ft. long by 27 ft. broad, and about

25 ft. high, removed in the present century, and shown in Halfpenny's drawing, with two low bartizans on the front angles, with embrasures and cruciform loops. Bootham is said to derive its name from a great fair, a hamlet of booths, held in this suburb under the Abbot of St. Mary's, and a fruitful subject of dispute with the city authorities.

Monk Bar, though on the line of the Roman wall, is a few yards south of the site of the old gate. It is a very handsome structure. It also is rectangular, 27 ft. long and 35 ft. deep. Its height to the crest of the turrets is 63 ft., and it has three upper floors. The entrance passage is vaulted by four diagonal and two ridge ribs; the whole being an insertion. There is a portcullis at the outer end, the winch for lifting which remains. Also there are rebates for two gates. All these fittings are additions to a Norman core. A front has been added to the inner face, with a flat segmental arch, and a narrow bay vaulted with plain transverse ribs, above which is a shallow recess and platform probably intended for the delivery of proclamations. The two outer angles are capped from the first floor with round bartizans, four having cruciform loops. Over the portal, in advance of the arch, is an outer arch high up and pointed, which supports a battlemented screen, the top of which is lower than, and commanded by, the main building. On this screen is a shield of the arms of France (modern) and England, between two of the city arms. Above are six figures represented as casting down stones. A stair in the inner face of the north pier ascends to the first floor, a chamber 24 ft. 6 in. by 15 ft. 6 in. and vaulted, as is the second floor, which is reached by a stair from the first floor within the south wall. In the third floor is a well stair to the ramparts. There are no bartizans on the two inner angles. A lodge or guardroom has been removed from the south side, to make a way for foot passengers. The Barbican, lately removed, was an addition. It was 42 ft. deep by 27 ft. broad, and had a round-headed archway and two flanking dwarf bartizans, octagonal in plan.

Monk Bar was repaired by Richard III. Sir H. Slingsby says this bar was beaten down to the gateway by the Parliamentary forces, but the masonry looks much older than that century. The core is clearly Norman, and the superstructures Decorated and Perpendicular. Leland calls the

road to this bar Wateling Gate. It is said that its present appellation was adopted to do honour to General Monk.

Walmgate Bar is 24 ft. broad and 21 ft. deep. The portals are round-headed, and the passage covered with timber. The outside has been faced and a portcullis inserted, the grate of which shows its iron teeth and stout oaken bars in the groove. The inner face is also an addition, probably of the Decorated period, and appended to it is a curious sort of portico or porch of timber, of the date of Elizabeth or James I. The two outer angles are capped, from the first floor, with circular bartizans. The parapet is plain, and without stone figures. On the front are the arms of Henry V. This is the only bar of which the barbican has been preserved. It is a rectangular pen 56 ft. deep from the face of the bar, and 24 ft. broad. At the outer end is a large gateway without a grate, and flanked by two buttresses. The walls are parapeted on each face, front and rear, and there are two dwarf circular bartizans at the front angles, rising about 3 ft. above the curtain. The ramparts are entered by two small doors from the first floor of the gatehouse. The area was always open. As the ditch is filled up, and the masonry has been much repaired, it does not appear how this barbican was defended. Probably there were lateral arches admitting the water below the timber floor, and a drawbridge, either attached to the main entrance, and therefore within the barbican, or outside of and in front of it, over a special loop of the ditch.

Micklegate Bar, the principal gate of York, is a fitting entrance to the metropolis of the Northern Province. It is 26 ft. broad by 35 ft. deep, and 53 ft. high, with a central passage portcullised with rebates for doors. It has three upper floors, and the two outer angles are capped by circular bartizans, from the second floor level upwards. These turrets rest upon a bold set-off of three steps, and rise considerably above the parapets. They are embattled and have cruciform loops in the merlons, ending in oillets. Over the outer gate is a square-headed loop, and above it a second, flanked by two of a cruciform figure, and on the coping above are placed three full-length figures. On the front are shields of France (ancient) and England, and two of the city.

The barbican has been removed. It measured 48 ft.

deep by 27 ft. broad. Its outer gate was high-pointed between flanking bartizans.

In the 8 Richard I., Benedict Fitz Engelran had licence to build a house upon Micklegate Bar, on payment of a fine and an annual rent. This must have been upon the Norman basement before the date of the present superstructure, which is generally supposed to have been added about 1332, after the battle of Neville's Cross. The head of Thomas Lord Scrope of Masham was displayed upon this bar by Henry V., as was, in 1460, that of the Duke of York,

"When York did overlook the town of York."

These four Bars have much in common. All are rectangular in plan, with superstructures of two or three stages, a central passage and a barbican.

Each gatehouse retains a central part or core which is evidently Norman, and represents the original gatehouse of the eleventh or early in the twelfth century. It is square, has a plain round-headed arch at each end or face, and the passage between, but little wider than the arch, had a flat covering of timber. There was no portcullis and no intermediate rebate, as at Sherborne, but there were two doors which opened inwards from either face. No doubt there was an upper floor, as at Tickhill, where is a Norman gatehouse but little altered.

During the Decorated period, probably in the reign of Edward I., the old gatehouses were cased, exterior arches were added, and grooves worked for a portcullis. The walls were also cased, and the upper parts replaced by a far more elaborate structure of two stages embattled and with round tourelles or bartizans, one at each of the front angles, corbelled out from the first or second floor. Part of these additions, however, are Perpendicular. The chamber above the portal contained, and still in one case does contain, the portcullis winch, and had a communication on either side with the city walls, either directly or by means of a passage within the rear wall of the structure. At Monk Bar the entrance portal is vaulted, but the other gates retain the original flat timber roof.

In front of each Bar was, until recently, an oblong pen or enclosure contained within four walls, and projected longways across the ditch. This was the barbican. The wall was

about 15 ft. high, and had battlements front and rear, and a gateway in the outer end, and flanking this gateway two dwarf bartizans corbelled out over the two angles. The rampart walk was entered by two small shoulder-headed doorways from the portcullis chamber. This structure rose out of the ditch, usually having lateral openings through which flowed the water. The passage was planked, and there was a drawbridge in front of the inner gate. The Walmgate Barbican has been preserved, though most of what is now seen is a restoration. These defences served both to cover the gate and to flank the adjacent wall, and even when entered they could be defended from their ramparts, the area not being roofed. As to their age, the doors leading to their ramparts are of the date of the first floor of the gatehouses, that is, Decorated ; but it is very probable that the barbicans had been much injured and may have been restored in the Perpendicular period.

At Carlisle, the outer gate of the castle is covered by a barbican of this character, though rather differently placed, as it occupies a hollow angle of the gatehouse, and consequently only needs two walls. At Alnwick is a much finer and more perfect one, though still of the York type. 'Traitors' Tower, in London, is rather a *tête du pont* than a barbican, but has some features of both works. The walls there are pierced by galleries, looped outwards and inwards. The barbicans at Leeds Castle and Bodiam, the one Decorated and the other Perpendicular, are of totally different character from the above.

The castles of York were evidently constructed for defence against a foreign foe ; but under the Norman rule, if not earlier, their main use was to overawe the city. The castle proper, though an important part of the defences of the city, was therefore, like modern citadels, independent of the other works, and had walls of its own and ditches communicating with the Foss. Its earthworks have already been described. Upon the mound was placed the Keep, probably with a low wall at the foot of the slope, along the scarp of the circumscribing ditch, which in Leland's time was full of water. The lower ward has also its *enceinte* wall strengthened by drum towers, of which two remain, with a part of the southern curtain. Outside this curtain there was a narrow outer ward also with its curtain and towers at a lower level. Whether

this was carried all round is doubtful, but the part next the Foss has only lately been removed. In Leland's time the castle had five towers and the Keep, all ruined. The Foss formed the castle ditch to the east and south. To the north was the ditch dividing the lower ward from the mount, and to the west was a ditch, now filled up and covered by Tower Street. At the southern angle a postern led to the Castle Mills. Halfpenny's drawings show this to have had a pointed and deeply recessed arch and jamb, probably of Decorated date. There is some doubt as to the position of the main entrance, which seems to have been in the lower ward opposite Fishergate. If so there must still have been another entrance from the city, probably at Castlegate. From the lower ward a drawbridge and steps communicated with the Keep. The old area of the castle is accurately indicated by the boundaries of the city, and the county of the city. It measured 250 yards northwest and southeast, and was 125 yards broad, including about 30,000 square yards, or above 6 acres. The main buildings were in the lower ward, probably at the south end of it. Roman coffins have been found in this area, as in most parts of the city and suburbs.

The Keep, known as Clifford's Tower, from the Earls of Cumberland, its later Constables, who claimed to bear the city sword before the king when he visited York, is a very remarkable structure, and the only English example of the kind, though excavations show that the shell-keep of Warwick was something of the same pattern. In plan it is a quaterfoil, each foil having an exterior radius of 22 ft., and walls 9 ft. 6 in. thick, and 31 ft. high to the rampart walk. The diameter, measured across the centre of the foils, is 79 ft., and at their intersections 62 ft. Internally these dimensions are 60 ft. and 43 ft., the acute angles at which the curves would meet being cut off. The entrance is on the south-east, between two of the foils, and is placed in a gatehouse 21 ft. broad and of 11 ft. projection, having walls 3 ft. 6 in. thick. There is some reason to regard this gatehouse as an early addition, and that the original entrance was a mere archway in the Keep wall at the junction of two of the foils, where it now is, but masqued by the exterior addition. At Tamworth the shell Keep, probably of Early English date, has such a door. At present the outer entrance by a portal into a small rectangular lobby, within which is

the older gateway, acutely arched, and provided with an original portcullis and a door behind it.

Entering, it is seen that the basement floor is at the level of the top of the mound. At that level, in each bay or foil are two rather acutely pointed recesses, 5 ft. to 6 ft. broad, and 6 ft. deep, each containing a loop. Besides these, in the walls right and left, are two well staircases, 6 ft. diameter, ascending to the first floor and the ramparts. In the two further bays are two recessed fireplaces, 4 ft. deep, with semi-octagonal backs and vertical funnels. Opposite the entrance, the junction of the two foils is pierced by two small doors leading into mural garde-robes with exterior shafts. In the right hand bay on entering is the well, about 3 ft. 6 in. diameter and descending 53 ft. to the river level. The smaller doorways throughout are shoulder-headed.

That there was an upper floor is clear, but its details are obscure. It was probably a shell or gallery of timber apartments resting upon posts, and applied to the wall all round. The two stages thus formed were, the basement, 18 feet high, and the upper, 13 ft. In the centre was probably a small open court. This upper floor was reached by two well staircases only, but two other staircases hollowed in the junction of the quaterfoils, led from thence to the ramparts, which thus had four approaches, and could be manned rapidly. In the other junction are two mural garde-robes, above those already mentioned. The walls are recessed as below, some of the recesses containing loops, others small pointed windows, having an exterior hood or drip. There are no fireplaces on this floor.

The room above the entrance, entered by one of the well stairs, from below, is the chapel. It is 15 ft. by 14 ft., entered near the west end, is vaulted, and has against its wall a handsome arcade of lancet arches springing from wall-shafts in the Early English style, with a band of well-cut dog-tooth ornament. In the north wall, near the east end, is a plain square locker. As in Marten's Tower at Chepstow, and at Harlech, this oratory serves as a portcullis chamber. The arcade has been broken away to the south-east, and an attempt made to construct an independent staircase, of which the lower part, 6 ft. diameter, remains, and bears a Decorated character.

At the first floor level, outside the walls, three of the

internal angles formed by the junction of the quaterfoils are occupied by segmental turrets, resting upon corbels, and rising to form part of the battlements. Two of these contain the well stairs ; in the third are the upper garde-robes, and above them two others at the rampart level, six in all. These bartizans are original, and give a peculiar character to the structure. Over the portal are the arms of Charles II., and in a compartment immediately below, on the same stone, were those of Clifford, now defaced. Originally, a steep flight of fifty steps, like those at Tickhill, descended the mound from the portal, and ended at a high and steep drawbridge, which communicated with the lower ward. The walls of the Keep are faced with excellent ashlar, and the foundations have been ascertained to descend from 6 ft. to 7 ft., which is by no means always the case with these shell Keeps.

The contents of the lower ward have been entirely swept away, and in its area are modern buildings. There still remains an excellent well, and a fragment of the curtain and two towers. Leland describes the castle wall, meaning that of the lower ward, as of 1100 yards girth.

The mills, an appendage of every castle, great or small, were here probably on a grand scale, suitable to the water-power and to the demand for flour. They stood outside of, and to the south of the castle, between it and the Foss, and close to St. George's Chapel, now removed. They had belonged to the Order of the Temple, and were worked by means of a very strong dam in the line of the modern Castle Mills Bridge. It was probably this dam, constructed before the Conquest, and strengthened afterwards, which caused the Layerthorpe marsh to be silted up and the Foss Island to be formed.

The castle is not in any one of the ridings of the county, nor within the liberty of the city. It has from an early period been assessed with the parish of St. Mary Castlegate ; "*Ecclesia S^m. Mariæ ad portam Castri.*" It was always in the Crown, and usually in the custody of the Sheriff of the county, though now and then a special governor or constable was appointed. Its repairs are charged in the Pipe Rolls, and notably in those of the reign of Henry III. The records mention various offices connected with the castle held by serjeantry, as "*Portæ castri custodia,*"

55 Henry III., and in the reign of Edward I. certain lands were held under it by varieties of castle-guard tenure, providing archers for particular towers, &c.

The castle is generally supposed to have been the scene of a bloody tragedy in the reign of Richard I. In 1189, fearing the extension to York of the popular outrages perpetrated in London, the Jews, who were favoured by Richard, moved their valuables into the castle, and aided in its defence when it was, in consequence, attacked by the populace. After some days, fearing to be dishonoured if they surrendered, and hard pressed, they are said to have burned the castle and slain their families and themselves, 11th March, 1189-90. Richard, then absent, ordered the outrage to be punished. Osbert, brother of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, one of the regency, was appointed governor, and the Sheriff was set aside. Osbert is said to have rebuilt the works of William Rufus in the castle. He proceeded, says Hoveden, "*Firmare castellum in veteri castellaria, quod rex G^o. Rufus ibi construxerit.*" Long afterwards, Richard III. so popular throughout the north, proposed to rebuild the castle, but unfortunately only proceeded so far as to pull down most of what remained. The Keep seems to have been long more or less in ruin, but to have been made use of during the wars of the seventeenth century, and to have been blown up and reduced nearly to its present condition. In 1673 the castle became a gaol, and has so continued, to the destruction of most objects of antiquarian interest. The domestic buildings and gatehouses have been removed, the ditches filled up, nearly all the wall replaced by an ugly mockery of castellated defences, and there is a modern gateway, constructed at a great expense, and only to be surpassed in bad taste by that which gives entrance to the gaol which has superseded the castle of Reading. The mound, if not too hot, was certainly too heavy for removal, and though nibbled at, pared, and walled, it was not actually cleared away, and the shell of its Keep was left, as it still remains, in undisturbed decay. Of the lower ward there remain about 120 yards of the original curtain, and two three-quarter round towers, which, however, being near the prison, are not permitted to be visited.

Clifford's Tower is probably of the reign of Richard I., when circular Keeps were in use, largely in France, and to

some extent in England. Etampes and the Louvre were of that period, built by Philip Augustus. The quaterfoil modification of the circle may be a little later in the style. No doubt the Keep was rebuilt after the Jewish tragedy. The chapel is somewhat later, and is probably the work of Henry III., to whom may be attributed what remains of the outer wall and towers. It should, however, be mentioned that the chapel is generally regarded as the work of the first Robert of the house of Clifford, a great military commander, and Warden of the Northern Counties, who sat in Parliament from 1300 until his death at Bannockburn. He is said to have given his name to the whole structure.

But little is known of the other castle, the Bayle Hill. There is no record of any masonry upon the mound, nor are there any traces of it above ground. It is, however, scarcely probable that so strong a post, and one fortified by the Conqueror in a temporary manner, would be left without some permanent fortification. The lower area certainly was fortified, and contained many buildings. In 1326 the "*Vetus Ballium*" was in the custody of the Archbishop, under his special jurisdiction, and exempt from the liberties of the city. The Archbishop, however, then William de Melton, when called upon to repair the fortifications, those probably which were common to his Bayle and to the city, pleaded that they were "*inter fossatas civitatis*," within the city ditches, and should be repaired by the citizens. The plea was overruled, and he had to execute the repairs, which he seems to have done most unwillingly. He employed timber and masonry in the work; planks 18 ft. long for the citadel, and an exterior stone wall. In 1380, the "*Vetus Ballium*" was still held by the Archbishop, and indeed for long afterwards.

In 1216, at the close of the reign of John, Robert de Ros and the Northern Barons laid siege to York in the interest of Louis, the French prince, but were bought off by a payment by the citizens of 1000 marks. Henry III. granted the proceeds of a toll on goods entering the city to be applied to the repair and maintenance of the defences, for which purpose it was long levied and applied. In 1266 the Abbot of St. Mary's had licence to fortify that area, which thus covered a considerable part of the city wall.

Edward II. is said to have caused the walls to be put in

repair in 1316, while expecting an attack from Thomas of Lancaster. In 1327 Edward III. called on the citizens to look to their walls, ditches, and towers, while he marched against the Scots. In 1385, Richard II. bestowed upon the chief magistrate the title of "Lord Mayor," and erected the city into a county, excepting from it the castle, its towers, and its ditches. Richard III., after his second coronation at York, rescinded the concession of Henry III. as to the tolls, but undertook himself to repair the walls. He is thought, however, to have done but little beyond the addition of the superstructure to Monk Bar. The taking down of the castle by Richard is referred to in a letter by the King to the Corporation of York, 2 Henry VII., and the new reign was commenced with great activity in the repairs of the defences. Fishergate was erected 1487, but burned by rioters in 1491.

In the 17 Henry VII., 1501, the Corporation seem to have restored the Fishergate Postern, and to have rebuilt part of the tower, and of the wall between Walmgate and the Foss. In 1639, King Charles mustered his army at York before the expedition into Scotland, and in the following year he was in the city directing certain additions to be made to its defences. It then became his head-quarters, and he fell back upon it in 1641, after the failure at Hull. In 1642, the additional defences, chiefly advanced batteries of earth, were ready, and guns were mounted upon the mounds of the castle and the old Bayle.

In 1646 the city was besieged by Fairfax on the south-east, and by the Earl of Manchester on the Bootham fronts, and guns were posted by them upon La Muele and the other mounds in the suburbs. Walmgate Bar is said to have been mined and countermined, and if so must have had a narrow escape, and part of the *enceinte* wall of St. Mary's was actually blown up. Marston Moor gave the death blow to the royal cause about York; and, on a threat of being stormed, the city was surrendered, with the honours of war, after eighteen weeks' siege. The walls had suffered much, but were restored; Walmgate and Bootham Bars were almost rebuilt in 1648, and the chapel of Clifford's Tower was patched up to prevent its fall. In 1666, the wall was repaired between Monk Bar and the Leventhorpe Postern, and in 1669 repairs were executed near Bootham Bar.

In 1683, Clifford's Tower, then used as a magazine, was

burnt and gutted, an event called by the citizens "The fall of the minced pie." In 1699 Castlegate Postern was rebuilt. In 1740, Fishergate Postern was roofed. In 1745, for the last time the heads of rebels were placed upon Micklegate Bar. In 1825, the Barbican was removed from Monk Bar, 1826 saw the last of the Castlegate Postern, as did 1827 and 1831 of the Barbicans of Micklegate and Bootham Bars. Since that time better taste and a more conservative spirit as regards its material remains have prevailed in the municipal councils; though what has been done when the railway was admitted through the walls, and what is now doing in the provision of a passage to the new station, can scarcely be cited as a proof of this. Nevertheless, a sum of money is annually voted by the Corporation for the maintenance of the walls and similar remains, and there is a general desire to do what is right, and to preserve as far as possible, and as is consistent with the health and comfort of the present generation, such memorials as have been bequeathed to it of the past.

The city of York has been fortunate in its historians. Drake, though on many questions obsolete, and superseded by later and more critical writers, has preserved much that would otherwise have been forgotten, and he is exceedingly valuable also upon points of pure topography. The "*Fragmenta Vetusta*" of Halfpenny, published in 1807, contain many drawings, some excellent and in great detail, and often of objects which have been since removed. The volume by Lockwood and Cates, 1834, is confined to the military remains, and contains a good ground-plan of the walls and banks, and representations of the walls, towers, and castle keep; but it is to the volume on "*Eboracum, or York under the Romans*," 8vo., York, 1842, that the highest praise is to be ascribed. Mr. Wellbeloved was an antiquary of a very high order. Intimately acquainted with the subject of his volume, he brought to bear upon it the fruits of long and deep collateral learning and a habit of severe criticism. No man can study the history of York as it ought to be studied without taking advantage of the labours of Mr. Wellbeloved.

LEEDS OLD POTTERY.

Memoranda communicated to the Hon. Sec. by EDWARD BOND, Leeds.

LEEDS, *December 8, 1874.*

MY DEAR SIR,

You asked me some time since to jot down some memoranda respecting the Leeds Old Pottery and its wares; and I do not know that I can throw them into any form better than that of a letter to yourself.

I should premise that the materials available to me are very scanty. The best works on Pottery and Porcelain, while they devote dozens or even scores of pages to the history of other manufactures, seem hardly able to afford one to that of Leeds-ware; nor do I find it noticed at all fully in any of the local chronicles.

I have long collected the best specimens I could find of this ware, and in doing so have endeavoured to make myself acquainted with its history and manufacture; but, for the reasons I have stated, to little purpose. I was acquainted with Mr. Stephen Chappell, who carried on the business of the pottery up to about twenty-five years since, and I also found out an old man who had been a workman there much longer ago, and who recollected the Leeds Pottery in its most palmy days. His whereabouts I discovered through Mr. Warburton, who succeeded Mr. Chappell. From these sources, and from such isolated scraps of information as I have from time to time been able to fish up in the locality, all the knowledge I possess has been derived, and you must therefore be content to take it for what it is worth.

Whether or not the pottery itself had been longer established, I have no means of ascertaining; but I have reason to conclude that its manufacture of Cream-ware, for which it was more especially famed, was commenced a little over a century ago. Mr. Warburton was good enough to give me a pattern-book, to which I shall have occasion again to refer;

but it is without either date or title page, as are also the only other two copies of it with which I have met. But I believe a copy in the British Museum bears the date of 1770, and one in the Museum of Practical Geology is said to be printed in English, French and German, and to be entitled "Designs of sundry articles in Queen's-ware, or cream-coloured earthenware, manufactured by Hartley, Greens, & Co., at Leeds Pottery, with a great variety of other articles. The same enamel'd, printed, or ornamented with gold to any pattern; also with Coats of Arms, cyphers, landscapes, &c. &c. Leeds, 1786." My copy consists of engravings only, without any letter-press, but there are numbers which no doubt refer to some printed description; this, however, I have never been able to discover.

It is peculiarly interesting to compare these engravings with the specimens which I have been able to collect, and so, as it were, to identify the latter, or such of them as are not marked. These pattern-books, and all the information which I have been enabled to gather from other sources, go to prove that *about* 100 years ago the Leeds Pottery was actively carried on by the firm of Hartley, Greens, & Co., and I have accidentally had the opportunity of verifying this date from an unexpected and wholly independent source. The briefs in a cause tried at York, in 1784, and to which Hartley, Greens, & Co. were parties, fell into my hands. They are described as carrying on "the only Pottery of any consequence in Leeds or the neighbourhood," and as "exporting their wares largely to the Continent, and especially to the North of Europe." This appears to account for their catalogue having been printed in foreign languages, and also for the fact of many specimens of their ware having been recently discovered and brought back from the Continent. I possess a basket and stand which were brought from Norway, and which are impudently marked "Sèvres."

The firm of Hartley, Greens, & Co., seems to have been composed of several partners, who did not agree, and the concern found its way into Chancery. It was then, I understand, purchased by a firm of Wainwright & Co., and ultimately, as I have stated, came into the hands of Mr. Chappell, and I believe it is still carried on by Messrs. Warburton, Britton & Co., or by Mr. Britton alone.

At its best days it was most famed for its cream or

"Queen's-ware," mentioned in the title of its Catalogue, to which reference has been made, and of which so many specimens are figured in the engravings. The choicest of these appear to have consisted of basket-work and perforated ware, the material being of an uniform bright cream-colour, which in the still existing specimens (of which very many agree with the engravings) is very pleasing to the eye. The basket-work, perforated dishes and plates, and other articles, show that the manufacture had been brought to a high degree of perfection, the best proof of which, perhaps, is that it is very difficult for the best judges to distinguish them, if unmarked, from similar specimens of Wedgwood's manufacture of the same colour of material.

Besides baskets, open and covered, the articles of Leeds cream-ware in my possession comprise a centre-piece of scallop-shells for fruit, surmounted by dolphins which support a figure, apparently of Plenty ; soup and sauce tureens of several sizes, some plain and others of elegant designs ; a cruet-stand complete ; many dessert stands, large and small, with ladles ; candlesticks of different sizes and patterns ; a tea-kettle, with stand to hold an iron heater ; a bread-basket ; dishes and plates of various sizes and patterns, and many other articles, most of them being very beautifully perforated.

The manufacture was, however, by no means confined to cream-ware. Some very nicely painted flower-pieces and some lustre-ware, of which I possess several specimens, were manufactured at the pottery, apparently about the same period, for it will be recollected that the title of the book mentions "the same enamel'd" and "printed or ornamented in gold."

The marks used at the time were usually either "Leeds Pottery," or "Hartley, Greens & Co., Leeds Pottery," in Roman capitals, impressed in the material, the words "Leeds Pottery" being sometimes *crossed*. I have also seen specimens marked only with the initials "L. P." (Leeds Pottery). It is said that some pieces were also marked "C. G.," and some with an arrow-head, but these I have never myself met with.

Some of the pieces have blue or brown borders, and I have seen a few similar pieces marked "Neill & Co." There were some also made at Castleford, which resemble them very much.

I think I have now given you, as briefly as I have been able to explain it, all the information I have collected about the Leeds Pottery itself, and the wares which were manufactured there ; but I should leave my story unfinished if I omitted to add that one of the Green family (I believe), about the close of the century, established a pottery on the river Don, not far from Doncaster, under the name of "The Don Pottery." The specimens of its manufacture which have come under my own notice, and of which I possess several, consist chiefly of dessert dishes and plates, each painted with a flower, of which the name is plainly written *underneath*, and most of them are marked "Don Pottery," the marks being impressed. I have heard that cream-ware, somewhat similar to that of Leeds, was also made there ; but I have never been able to find a piece that I could identify. I am told that this pottery is still in work.

I remain, my dear sir,

Yours faithfully,

EDW. BOND.

FAIRLESS BARBER, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.

P.S. You made enquiry of me some time ago respecting a portrait of the late Mr. Green. I have since ascertained that it is in the possession of a gentleman in Leeds, to whom I shall be happy at any time to introduce you, and who, I have no doubt, will gladly show it to you.

bre
Swyft 30



Signature and Seal of Sir Robert Swyft.

SIR ROBERT SWYFT.

By CHARLES JACKSON, of DONCASTER.

THE signature and seal represented on p. 48 are those attached to a deed bearing date the 3rd of July, 1610, whereby Sir Robert Swyft, knight, of Tristropp, in the county of York, in consideration of £5, granted to Humphrey Goodwyn, of Rawmarsh, in the same county, yeoman, an orchard in Doncaster, then in the occupation of William Cowper, containing half an acre, lying between the garden belonging to an inn situate in French-gate, called the "Crown," and formerly the "Crane,"¹ and other inns or messuages eastward, a narrow way or gate, called Crimsall-lane,² leading between the Gillot Bar³ and the water of Dun westward, and abutting upon the lands of William Clark northward, and lands in the tenure of the Mayor and Commonalty of Doncaster southward.

Sir Robert Swyft, we are told,⁴ was the only son and heir

¹ This inn has now disappeared, though the locality is preserved in a place known as "Crane's Yard." It was formerly called the "Three Cranes." When Charles I. was at Doncaster, in 1632-3, he is said to have taken up his quarters at the Three Cranes (Lansdowne MSS. 213, *Brayley's Graphic Illustrations*, p. 93). In Wainwright's *Wapentake of Strafford and Tickhill*, p. 35, is an engraving of a tradesman's token, inscribed "Thomas Hunte at the 3 Crans, in Doncaster, his Halfpeny, 1666," with a representation of three cranes on it. (Boyne's *Tokens*, 17th Century, 501.) In 1698 it is described, in a deed, as an "inn theretofore called the Crane, since then called the Crowne, but then called the Three Cranes." In 1733 it had acquired the name of "The George and Three Cranes."

² This is now called "Factory Lane," from the circumstance of a place for the manufactory of coarse sacking material having been set up there in the latter part of the last century.

³ One of the Bars or Gates of the town which formerly stood at the western entrance of it, in a street called St.

Sepulchre-gate, between Printing-office-street and Factory Lane. Leland notices it as "a prety tower of ston" at the west. On 21st October, 21st H. VIII., 1529, the corporation granted a lease to Thomas Wylbor of a laith and garden "behynd the gyllot barres." In 1600, George Fulwood conveyed to Hugh Childers property situate "without the Gillott Barr." So late as 1648 it was used for a defence. It was afterwards appropriated for the purposes of a prison. At the present day there is a nominal line of demarcation of "St. Sepulchre-gate within the Bar," and "St. Sepulchre-gate without the Bar." I take it to have derived its name from *giglet* or *giglot*, a term now out of use for a wanton or lascivious girl (*unde jilt*), *jillet* being still retained in Scotland; and to have acquired the appellation from being situated in a quarter of the town where women of evil fame were formerly most commonly harboured, and from whom it is by no means free in our own time.

⁴ Hunter's *Hallamshire*, pp. 210—213. *South-Yorkshire*, I., p. 204.

of William Swyft, of Rotherham, who was the second son of Robert Swyft, of the same place. The mother of Sir Robert was Margaret, daughter of Hugh Wyrall, of Loversall, esq. At the death of his father, 10th May, 11th Elizabeth, 1568, he was aged seventeen years and nine months, so that he was born about the year 1550. He married, for his first wife, Bridget, daughter and coheiress of Sir Francis Hastings, of Fenwick, knight, one of the most ancient houses in that part of the county of York, by whom he had an eldest son and heir apparent, Edward Swyft, who lived to man's estate and received the honour of knighthood at the hands of King James the First, when at Belvoir, on the 23rd of April, 1603.⁵ Sir Edward Swyft married Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, but died in his father's lifetime; his widow remarried Sir John Bouchier. His father, Sir Robert Swyft, was knighted by James the First at the Manor, in York, on Sunday the 17th of April, 1603,⁶ whilst his Majesty was on his way to take possession of the throne of England. He served the office of high-sheriff of Yorkshire in the 42nd of Elizabeth and 16th of James the First. His second wife was Ursula, daughter of Stephen Barnham, of Lewes, esq., by whom he had a son who became his eldest surviving heir, and was created Viscount Carlingford of the kingdom of Ireland, 20th March, 1627. We are not informed of the period of the death of Sir Edward Swyft, but it was at some time previously to the 15th of September, 1617,⁷ as on that day Sir Robert Swyft made a settlement of his estates, both those which were the inheritance of his first wife, and those which were his own inheritance, on Barnham Swyft, his eldest son, Sir Edward Swyft being then dead.

Sir Robert Swyft appears to have been a man with some *dash* of character about him. Queen Elizabeth is said to have given him the title of Cavalier, and he is in conse-

⁵ Nichols's *Progresses of King James I.*, vol. i., p. 92.

⁶ Nichols's *Progresses of King James I.*, vol. i., p. 82.

⁷ He was living in or about 1612, as appears from a deed dated 15th October, 10th James I., 1612, whereby Humfrey Goodwyn, of Rawmarsh, yeoman, and Anthony G., his son and heir apparent, conveyed to Bryan Cooke, of Doncaster, esq., certain property in Doncaster, ex-

cepting one inn "sometymes called the Crane, and nowe beareinge the signe of the Crowne," in the occupation of Wm. Cowper, innkeeper, and an orchard adjoining; all which premises the Goodwins are stated to have lately purchased of Sir Robert Swift, Knt., and Sir Edward Swift, Knt., his son and heir apparent. (Old deeds, *pencs* Wm. Sheardown, esq., Doncaster).

quence sometimes spoken of as Cavaliero Swyft by his contemporaries. He is represented as having been *tam Martis quam Mercurii*, a great swordsman, and an eloquent speaker. At a charge given by him at Doncaster he is said to have told the grand jury "that there were two governments in this nation, the one *gubernatio belli*, the other *gubernatio pacis*, the government of war and the government of peace. Among the Romans, Cn. Pompeius *Magnus* had the government of war, but Quintus Fabius *Maximus* had the government of peace. Now, I need not tell you whether of these governments are to be preferred : I shall refer you to the positive and superlative degrees of *magnus* and *maximus*." In the 3rd James I. the king granted to Sir Robert Swyft the manor of Armthorpe,⁸ with free warren, late parcel of the possessions of the abbey of Roche. He was bow-bearer of the royal chase of Hatfield, and there were at one time many yew trees growing about the house at Tristrop (subsequently known as Streetthorpe, and now as Edenthorpe),⁹ which, by tradition, were said to have been planted by Sir Robert, to supply his people with bows. He was also master of the leash to the Queen, 1607. In July, 1609, he entertained at his house, bordering on the chase of Hatfield, Henry, prince of Wales, who had come thither for the purpose of taking the diversion of hunting, on which occasion De la Pryme gives a picturesque account of a "day's work" of "such sport as he, the prince, never saw in his life," and which had been provided for the royal party by the chief regarnder of Thorne and 'Squire Portington of Tudworth.¹⁰

⁸ A parish 4 miles (E. by N. E.) from Doncaster. See *South-Yorkshire*, I., p. 86.

⁹ The Domesday orthography is Stires-torp—this became Tristrop, and afterwards Streetthorpe. It is in the parish of Kirk-Sandal, about 4½ miles from Doncaster. On the dispersion of the Swift property it passed to the family of Baker, of Pen, co. Bucks, from them to the Holroyds. In 1769, George Cooke, esq. purchased it of John Baker Holroyd. Mr. Cooke (who afterwards assumed the surname of Yarborough) built a house here, which was occupied for several years by George Parker, esq., who married one of the daughters of Mr. Cooke. His son, Henry Yarborough Parker, esq., sold the estate in 1871 to Lord Auckland, who made much addition to the house, and,

with reference to his own family name of Eden, changed that of this place to Edenthorpe.

¹⁰ De la Pryme's MS. *Hist. Hatfield, &c.*, Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. Nichols's *Progresses of King James I.*, vol. I., preface xxi. *South-Yorkshire*, I., p. 156. Mr. Hunter, in a note, states that he gives the account of this hunting scene as he finds it in De la Pryme's MS., but that from the enquiries made into the progresses of the reign of James I., nothing had presented itself to afford concurrent proof as to a visit of Prince Henry to Hatfield in 1609. On the 24th July of that year he was with the King at Farnham, and was to be traced in and near London during the greater part of the year.

Gervase Holles,¹¹ speaking of one John Kingston, a great fighter, says:—"But his greatest quarrell was with Sir Robert Swift (remembered yet, and likely will be for some ages yet, by the name of Cavaliero Swift), who was a man famous for a tall man (as they then termed a valiant man) in his generation. They were brothers-in-law by marriage, and at first differed about a woman, but what shee was I have forgotten, though I have heard my grandfather sometimes tell me the story. They never met after, but they fought (which was twice or thrice), they and their servants, as the use was in those days. I remember Mr. Charles Garth (who was Sir Robert Swift's nephew) tolde me that one daye at Lincolne, comming from schole, he see a great scuffle above the Hille, and halfe a score or a dozen drawne one upon another: and comming neerer he perceaved it was his two uncles (Sir Robert Swift and my grandfather),¹² with their servants. In the first encounter they had, my grandfather run him into the mouth and drove out two of his fore teeth. I remember that some gentlemen speaking of Sir Robert Swift at the olde Earle of Clare's table, one of them sayd he wanted two teeth before: 'Yes,' says the Earle, 'John Kingston struck out those with a candlestick.' But the Earle was misinformed in the story, for he drove them out with his rapier: and I have heard my grandfather (telling of that passage) say, 'Body of our Lord, had he not had good strong teeth I had run him through the head.'"

He appears to have "got into hot water" with the Corporation of Doncaster upon some matter which is not explained, as on the 6th of June, 1615, we meet with the following resolution entered upon the records of that body; "Upon Mr. Mayor's¹³ information that yesterday Sir Robert Swift, knight, did assault him in his own Court with many disgraceful words, which tended not only to the injury and disgrace of the said Mayor but also to the whole Corporation; therefore it is agreed upon that Mr. Mayor shall cause an information to be exhibited against him the said Sir Robert, and such other persons as were in his company, and joined with him in the same assault, in the Star Chamber,

¹¹ Memoirs of his family, MS. folio, *penes* the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat, p. 213, obligingly communicated by the Rev. Canon Jackson, M.A., rector of Leigh-Delamere, Wilts.

¹² John Kingston, his maternal grandfather.

¹³ Thomas Colson, elected in September, 1614.

and also to complain of the said injuries to his majesty and his honourable privy council, if counsel shall advise thereunto."

In 1622 Sir Robert Swyft is described as "of Doncaster."¹⁴ He had purchased a capital mansion called the New Building, which had been erected on the site of the dissolved house of the Carmelites, or White Friars, in Hall-gate, or, as it is now termed, High-street; and on the 12th of April in that year, in consideration of a marriage already solemnized between William Creighton, son and heir of William lord Sanquier, Viscount Ayre, and Penelope Swyft, Sir Robert's daughter, he, together with dame Ursula his wife, conveyed the premises, which were stated to be then in his own occupation, to the said viscount and his heirs, to the use of himself, Sir Robert, for life, with remainder to the viscount in fee.¹⁵

The arms displayed on the seal before us are, quarterly, 1st and 4th Swyft, 2nd and 3rd the maunch of Hastings, and they appear to present the following peculiarities:—

Firstly. A discrepancy, or variation from the more general representation of the arms of Swyft, viz., *Or, a chevron barry nebulée azure and sable* (in some places the chevron *raire*) *between three roebucks courant proper*. Here we find the chevron to be engrailed, and the roebucks either statant or trippant, for their attitude is not very distinctly shown.

Secondly. As Sir Robert Swyft married a coheirress of Hastings, as before noticed, we have here, *primâ facie*, an instance of the wife's arms being quartered, instead of being either impaled with those of her husband, or placed on an escutcheon of pretence.

Thirdly. The question arises, was this seal really engraved for Sir Robert Swyft? and, though actually used by him in this instance, may it not have been the seal of Sir Edward Swyft, his deceased son, the latter being dead? the Hastings arms descended as a quartering to him; but his father was still alive, and according to strict ancient usage he would have no right to his father's arms undifferenced. In earlier times the proper difference would have been a label; it is possible, however, he chose to change

¹⁴ From lines by an old tourist on his way from Pontefract to London, in 1622.

"From Pomfret, then, unto my noble friend

Sir Robert Swift, at Doncaster, we wend,

An ancient knight, of a most gen'rous spirit,

Who made me welcome farre beyond my merit."

¹⁵ From deeds *penes* Mr. Sheardown.

his arms again, such changes being not unfrequent in the sixteenth century, and, on quartering with Hastings, he may have differenced from his father by the engrailed chevron. If this conjecture be well-founded, it would seem to have been a careless act in Sir Robert Swyft afterwards to use his son's seal on the execution of a deed. But the knight was evidently a man who probably considered that he had a perfect right to please himself in these matters, and that he should ask no one's leave upon such a question as the user of a seal.

In one of his manuscripts, now in the British Museum, De la Pryme relates this anecdote of Sir Robert Swyft. "He was an ingenious, witty, and merry gentleman, concerning whome this town [Hatfield] has many traditional storys. They tell how that he having once discovered a gentleman of Cantley, a town hard by,¹⁶ whose name was Mr. Slack,¹⁷ stealing one of the king's deer, he apprehended him, and having heard that he was a constant transgressor (the assizes being then at York, and all the other delinquents being sent from Thorn prison) Sir Robert set out with this gentleman to the same place; but night coming on, they took up their lodgings by the way, and finding there by chance a pot of good ale, this Mr. Slack told him so many merry tails over the same, and enticed them to drink so long, that he got Sir Robert and those with him dead drunk. Upon which, taking a piece of paper, he writt thereon these following verses :—

To every creature God has given a gift,
Sometimes the *Slack* does overrun the *Swift*.

"and having stop'd them into Sir Robert's pocket (where he found them by chance next morning), he made his escape that night, and was not heard again of of a long while. But Sir Robert, seeming as if he was not at all concerned, kept on his journey to York, and, having performed his business there, returned again to his station. This Sir Robert dyed very much lamented by everyone that knew

¹⁶ A parish 3 miles (E. by S) from Doncaster, intersected by the high road between Doncaster and Bawtry, which enters it near the race-ground, and leaves it at Rossington-bridge; the property chiefly belongs to, and the principal house is the seat of, John Walbanke Childers, esq. (See *South-Yorkshire*, I., 81).

¹⁷ A John Slack, M.A., was presented to the vicarage of Cantley 16th Feb., 1593, and died in 1643. He is the person who occurs in an account of the long lawsuit respecting the Hospital at Bawtry. (Hunter, *South-Yorkshire*, I., 84; Peck's *Bawtry and Thorne*, p. 20).

him, in the year 16. . , and was buried in Doncaster church." ¹⁸

Hunter has furnished the date of his death as on the 14th of March, 1625,¹⁹ but, on examination of the parish register of that period, I do not find the burial recorded; nor has any monumental inscription for him been preserved there. No will occurs at York, but on the 16th of January, 1628-9, administration of the goods, &c., of Robert Swyfte, late of Doncaster and Tristropp, knight, deceased, was granted to the lady Ursula Ayre and William Ayre, viscount Ayre, of Doncaster.

C. J.

¹⁸ *Diary of Abraham De la Pryme*,
Surtess Soc. Pub., vol. 54, p. 106, note.

¹⁹ *South-Yorkshire*, I. 206.

WHERE WAS CAMBODUNUM ?

By the Rev. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH, Erdington.

ALTHOUGH the late Mr. Hunter's memoir on "Clay House" was compiled some years previous to the excavations, which have established beyond question the fact of the existence of a Roman station at Slack, its appearance in the second volume of our Journal has the effect of allowing his grave authority to reverse the judgment, which seemed quite satisfactory, in favour of the claims of Slack to be considered the representative of *Cambodunum* or *Camulodunum*.

I have waited, in the hope that some resident Yorkshire antiquary would undertake a review of the first part of his very interesting, and particularly valuable, memoir. As this has not been done, I venture to offer some observations, which I hope may have the effect of definitively settling the question, "Where was Cambodunum?" I do not say, "Was there a station at Slack?" for that is satisfactorily answered; nor, "Was there a station at Greteland?" meaning thereby a position indicated by the Itineraries,—for that, I think it would be impossible to answer in the affirmative; but I am far from supposing that every position so indicated was fortified by the Romans.

Horsley's view, that the distances in the Itineraries are not the result of measurements along actual roads, but rather estimates of geographical intervals derived from accurate surveys, appears to be confirmed in very many instances by measurements on our ordnance survey. The miles in these surveys appear to be nearly equal to our own, and perhaps indicate some standard which the Romans found in use in Britain. The routes are frequently indirect; the second *iter* of Antoninus, for instance, which has Richborough for its avowed term, deviates from York as far as Chester to the westward. Hence we must be prepared for a deviation from the direct line in that part of the same *iter* which concerns our present

purpose ; and, in the investigation of other routes, distances which seem to be excessive will sometimes appear to be sums of two distances, between the stations named and another unnamed, (but doubtless named in some document not extant now). On the other hand, the restoration I have to propose suggests, that distances which seem to be defective may sometimes be accounted for, by supposing that the name of some intervening station is lost. Errors in numbers of course there are ; where so many errors are found in the spelling of names, we may expect an occasional *u* for *ii*, &c. ; but when reasonable grounds can be shown for the alternatives above stated, I think they are safer than arbitrary corrections of numbers.

I take into these considerations the Itinerary which bears the name of Richard of Cirencester, because, (without committing myself to an opinion as to the genuineness of the Description of Britain which accompanies it), I find it impossible to endorse the judgment that it is a forgery. I am aware that if I were to cite remarkable correspondences, between it and indications of Roman occupation of Britain, I might be met with the objection, that a forger would prepare himself for his work by a careful study of the Roman geography of our island. Doubtless he would ; but would not his work present, throughout, evidences of the accurate knowledge he possessed ? How can the supposition of such carefully acquired knowledge be reconciled with evidences of ignorance, at least as remarkable as these correspondences ? Examples of each will occur in the sequel. Considering it as a copy of an ancient document, I shall take the liberty of citing it in illustration of the Itinerary of Antoninus, distinguishing them by B and A.

The anonymous geographer of Ravenna, whom I have elsewhere identified with the illustrious Venantius Fortunatus,¹ will also be adduced as a witness. His lists of British towns are certainly derived from Itineraries, which differed from A and B, giving sometimes more, sometimes fewer names than they, and sometimes what are probably synonyms ; and each list is a series of groups of such names ; so that some names, such as *Londini*, recur more

¹ He was educated at Ravenna, and resided there until he was invited to France ; he travelled in Britain ; and his poems evince considerable geographical knowledge.

than once. The order of the names in each group is what appeared in the Itinerary he followed ; and it is confirmed in one instance, where it differs from that in the *Notitia Imperii*, by the inscription on the celebrated Rudge cup,—

A MAIS ABALLABA VXELODUMO AMBOCLANNIS BANNA,

corresponding to his

Maia Auallaua

Vxeludiano

Banna.

I come now to the examination of the *itineræ*,

A II.

Eburacum
Calcaria viiii,
Camboduno xx,
Manutio xviii,
Condate xviii.

B. VI.

Eboraco
Calcaria,
Camboduno
Mancunio
Finibus Maximæ et Flaviæ.
Condate

viii,
xxii,
xviii,
xviii,
xviii.

Here there is certainly an error in A, (and it is repeated in A.x), as to the interval between *Manutium* and *Condate*. Would a forger, conscious of this error, have attempted to correct it by another, indicating a position on the borders of the provinces, between the stations, at an equal (impossible) distance from each ? To me, at least, it appears more probable that such a position was really marked in the original, whence these Itineraries were derived ; but that the number which follows it in B is a blundering repetition of that which precedes it, and ought to be *v*, the direct distance from Manchester to Stretford on the Mersey, on the way to Kinderton ; and so in B.x the interval between *Mancunium* and *Condate* is correctly registered *xxiii* (*v* + *xviii*). This does not look like forgery. Again, I think that a forger would have made some attempt to get over the difficulty, (as notorious in Bertram's and Stukeley's days as in ours), as to the distance between *Mancunium* and *Calcaria*.

The direct distance from the centre of the station at York to the Castle-hill at Tadcaster is $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles. From the Cathedral at Manchester to the camp at Castle Shaw we have $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ thence to Slack, undoubtedly a station at the time of the compilation of the Itinerary of Antoninus ; because proved by the evidence of coins and an altar to have been occupied in the time of Hadrian ; together nearly 19 miles.

The description of the remains found in Greteland, about

A.D. 1600, does not necessarily indicate the existence of anything more than a villa, (such as there was at Grimescar also); and the altar is evidence that it was occupied in A.D. 208. The direct distance from Manchester to the confluence of the Calder and Blackbrook, where Mr. Hunter would have placed his supposed station, is 21 miles.

If now we look to the direction of the Roman road from Manchester, we observe that it pursues a north-easterly course to Castle Shaw, then turns to the eastward, and passes by the foot of Pule-hill, tending towards Marsden, where all traces are lost in a modern road. It has no connection with Greteland; on the contrary, at Castle Shaw it is considerably more than a mile south of another road which ascends Blacker-edge, and thence divides to Slack and Greteland, and this distance increases as the roads proceed. But it can easily be connected with Slack, by turning northward from Marsden by Slaithwaite-hall and Pole, and so taking the course of the present road.

Thus, the distance from Manchester being in favour of Slack, and the only direct road from Manchester connexible with Slack only, its claim to be considered the representative of *Cambodunum* seems irresistible.

To connect *Cambodunum* with *Calcaria* we must suppose, —either that the number has been corrupted, or that the name of a station has been lost (as between *Manutium* and *Condate* in A). If we can find a station at 20 or 22 miles distance, in the direction of Tadcaster, we shall have no occasion to resort to a violent correction of the number; and here we have not one only, but the choice of two. To the left of the direct line, the camp at Adel is 19 miles from Slack, sufficiently near to the *xx* of A, but there are no traces of Roman work in the interval. To the right, Castleford is exactly 22 miles, the distance in B; and, although we cannot trace the road distinctly, we have clear indications of the course it might take, a little to the north of the direct line: the remains of a villa, constructed by the cohort which occupied Slack, at Grimescar, 3 miles distant; the camp at Kirklees, 3 miles farther; and considerable traces of Roman occupation, near East Ardsley and Lingwell Gate, 10 miles farther still.

The distance from Castleford to Tadcaster is $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and this added to the distance from Tadcaster to York,

nearly makes up the *xxi* which is uniformly stated as the interval between *Eburacum* and *Lagecium*. As the direct distance is only 17 miles, the fact that this *xxi* proves to be the sum of two stages, increases the probability that *Lagecium xii* was originally in A.ii, and so that the intervening *Calcaria*, which is only mentioned there, is not repeated in A.v and viii,—that for *Calcaria viiii Lagecio xii* of the former we have *Lagecio xxi* in the others ; just as *Eboraco xl* of B.v is the sum of *xxiiii + xvi* in B.iv, and *Condate xxiii* in B.x is the sum of *v + xviii*, which originally stood in B.vi, as I have shown.

The identity of Castleford with *Lagecium*, *Lagentium*, *Legotium*, or *Legeolium*, may be considered as certain. Situated on the Ermine Street, its distance from the Don at Doncaster, $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles, agrees with the *xvi* of A.v and viii. The result of the restoration I propose, accounting for the apparently excessive distance from York in A.v and viii on the one hand, and for the number *xxii* attached to *Cambodunum* in B.vi on the other, concurs to determine its position. Then in B.xviii we have an interval *xviii* between it and a position *ad Fines*, between which and *Derwentio*, Little Chester, near Derby, we have two stations (names lost), at intervals of *xvi* each. At $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles distance from Castleford, a passage of the Don has the name Aldwark attached to it on both sides of the river, evidence of some "old fortress," known as such in Anglo-Saxon times, having existed there. There, rather than at the camp near Rotherham, which is 21 miles from Castleford, I would place the station *ad Fines*, because by the aid of this position we can determine those of the nameless stations between it and Little Chester. First, a radius of 16 miles passes through the Castle hill, near Cuckney, in Nottinghamshire ; then another from Little Chester passes through a camp north of Arnold, which is 14 miles from Cuckney Castle hill. These distances then are tolerably exact ; the deficiency in one occurring where repetitions of *xvi* suggest the probability of a clerical error, (and a very feasible one, *xvi* for *xviii* or *xiii*).

I suppose, then, that *Cambodunum* was on the route from *Manulium* to *Eburacum* by way of *Lagecium* ; and in confirmation of what I have advanced, I have the authority of Ravennas. Between a group of five stations,

Lindum colonia, Banouallum, Nauione, Aquis, Arnemeza zerdotalia,²

which correspond to

Lindum Croccocalano, ad pontem, Margiduno, Uerometo, of A. vi.,—and another group,—

Cantauanti, Iuliocenon, Gabrocentio,

which correspond to

Glannobanta, Tunnocelo, Gabrosentis (*per lineam valli*)

of the Notia Imperii,—he gives us the following,

Mantio, Alunna, Camulodono, Caluuo, Galuuo, Medibogdo.³

The first of these, of course, is *Manutium*. The second corresponds to the camp at Castle Shaw, and a trace of this name is preserved in that of the Hull brook which flows by it. The third is our *Cambodunum*, and as Ptolemy has Καμουνλόδουνον, there seems to be a preponderance of authority in favour of *Camulodunum*, “fortress of Camul” (a god of war). The fourth and fifth seem to be variants of one name, (like *Epocessa Ypocessa* in another part of the same list), marking the confluence of the Colne and Calder,⁴ commanded by the camp at Kirklees, and the name of the adjoining hamlet of Clifton may be derived from *Caluvium*. In the sixth I recognize an equivalent of the modern Methley; primitive *o* frequently passing through *u* to modern *i* or *y*, and *g* before *d* becoming aspirated and losing its sound, so as to have only the effect of lengthening the preceding vowel, the ancient *bogd* appears to be represented by the mediæval Cornish *budin*,⁵ and later *bidhen*, “pasture land” (in which *in* is merely formative, as in *el elin*, “an angel,” *runen* “a hill,” compared with the Welsh *rhun*, Breton

² *Banouallum* either a synonyme for *Croccocalanum* or another neighbouring site on the same route; *ad pontem* and *aquis*, Latin designations of *Nauion* and *Margidunum*, the number of stations corresponding. *Uerometo* is a misspelling of *Uernemetum* (“great temple”); *Ravennas* pluralizes it, and adds apparently *sacerdotalia*.

³ Variants: *Mantio*, *Calunio*, *Gallunio*, *Medibogdo*.

⁴ Although the stream bears the name Calder from this confluence, its course is decidedly that of the Colne, and it seems to have a better right to that name. Perhaps the Colne-valley folk and the

Calder-valley folk each continued the name of their own stream, until the influence of the latter prevailed. So the British town at the confluence might be *Caluniu n*. A flagrant case of one stream imposing its name on another occurs at York. The river there is called Ure in the Description of Britain, and that is its true name; but from the point where the little Ouseburn joins it, it is Ure no longer, but Ouse, in our days, as it has been for centuries.

⁵ This word has no correspondent in the other Celtic dialects, with which it might be compared.

run); the old English *leag* has nearly the same sense; and the initial element is common to both. The district of Methley extends for more than 3 miles between the Aire and Calder to their junction, and is separated from Castleford only by the latter; still I think that *Medibogdum* marks a position on another Roman road which is visible for some miles from Swillington northward, more than 3 miles west of the Ermine Street, and seeming to point to Bardsey.⁶ It is, however, in the direction of Castleford, and so suffices for my purpose, as showing that *Cambodunum* was on this route. It might indeed be supposed to be the station that is wanting to complete this *iter*, at a distance agreeing with the *xx* of A.ii, and in the line of the remains at Grimescar, Kirklees, and Ardsley, but for one consideration above stated, which leads me to prefer Castleford, a station on a road communicating directly with Tadcaster.

I therefore propose with perfect confidence the following restoration of this *iter*.

Eburacum		
Calcaria	viii	Tadcaster 9½,
Lagecium	xii	Castleford 11½,
Cambodunum	xxii	Slack, 22
Manutium	xviii	Manchester, 18½,
Fines Maximæ et Flaviæ	v	Stretford 5,
Condate	xviii	Kinderton 18.

The *iter* A.x is involved in far greater difficulties than

Clanouenta		Ellenborough,	this, as comparison
Galaua	xviii	Keswick 17,	of the intervals be-
Alone	xii	Ambleside 13,	tween the stations,
Galacum	xviii	Kendal 11	and the distances be-
Bremetonaci	xxvii	Overborough 12,	tween the positions
Coccio	xx	Ribchester 25,	which have been as-
Mancunio	xvii or xxviii	Manchester 28.	signed to them,
			shows. The position

of *Clanouenta* is tolerably certain. At any rate, placed as it is, in the Notitia and in the lists of Ravennas, next to *Tunnocelum* on the wall, it cannot be identified with any more southerly site. Its distance, too, from *Galaua* is sufficiently near to the direct distance of Ellenborough from Keswick.

⁶ I submit to the judgment of my readers whether the remarkable fortress above Bardsey, situated as it is in the midst of Rigton, and, apparently, the object of this road, has not a claim to be

identified with *Πρύδουρον* which Ptolemy names between *Ἰσούριον* and *Ολίκαρον*. The name of the village, also, may be taken into account.

At a distance of about 17 miles from Manchester we have Blackrode, but nothing like a station of any kind at 20 miles beyond, on that road. Fortunately, the variant *xxvii* enables us to place the station *Coccium* at Ribchester, and this identification is generally admitted. But the intervals between *Coccium* and *Galaua* cannot be reconciled with the route proposed ; and we are obliged to seek another. We must take the road, remarkably straight and clearly defined, from Ribchester north-westward ; and on this road, at $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles distance, we have Burwen castle, with a name slightly altered from *Bremetonacum*, in Broughton. Then, following the indications of Roman occupation about Gargrave, at about 26 miles north of Burwen, we have Brough castle, near Askrigg ; and 20 miles on the high road westward bring us to the passage of the Lune beyond Sedbergh. Thus far we have the exact coincidence of three intervals, and close correspondence of two names, in favour of this route. The difficulties which beset us on the former route are now reduced to the necessity of correcting *xii* to *vii*, and supposing that the name of the station which represented Kendal⁷ is lost. Ravennas again is a witness in favour of this route, giving us the sequence, *Olerica* (probably Allerby in Cumberland), *Deruentione* (Papcastle, also in Cumberland), *Bauonia* (? *Lauonia*, Hincaster with Levens in its immediate neighbourhood), *Bresnetenaci Ueteranorum* (apparently distinguished by this addition from *Bremetenracum* on the wall, the quarters of a *cuneus Armaturarum*), *Pampocalia* and *Lagentium*. The names which follow are a distinct sequence in Westmoreland and Cumberland, *Ualtaris* (*Uerteris*), *Bereda* (*Uoreda*) *Lugubalum* (*Luquallum*).

Pampocalia surely means "Five ways," and I should be inclined to place it where the Roman roads from Bramham by Rowley farm, and from Bramham park by Scarcroft, meet at Brandon the Roman road from Ilkley, and there are crossed by a road from Wike to Shadwell ; *Lagentium* is doubtless *Lagecium* ; and the occurrence of *Bresnetenacum* in connection with these two is an indication that it was in Yorkshire. *Galacum*, too, is Ptolemy's *Κάλαρον*, and as he mentions it after *Κατουρρακτόνιον* and before *Ἰσοῦριον* it can scarcely be looked for outside of our county. Unfortu-

⁷ It has been thought to be *Concangios* of the Notitia, but this name is almost identical with *Cunce-ceastre*, Chester-le-street.

nately there is some mistake in the latitude, which is represented the same as that of 'Ολίκανα.

My restoration of this *iter*, therefore, will be :—

Clanouenta		Ellenborough,
Galaua	xviii	Keswick 17,
—	xxv	Kendal 25,
Alone (for xii read)	vii	River Lune 7,
Galacum	xviii	Brough castle 20
Bremetonaci	xxvii	Burwen castle 26
Coccio	xx	Ribchester 19½,
Mancunio	xxvii	Manchester 28.

The commentator on Richard's Itinerary has followed, in his discussion of B.vii, the road I have adopted for the above as far as Burwen, and thence continued it to *Olicana*. He makes *Portus Sistuntiorum* the æstuary of the Ribble, starts from Freckleton, and identifies *Rerigonium* with Ribchester, altering *xxiii* into *xiii*, the direct distance being about 15 miles. The next stage *ad Alpes Penninos* he identifies with Burwen castle, although there is no elevation in the neighbourhood to justify the name, and again he alters the number *viii* to *xxiii*, the direct distance being 19½. The next, *Olicana x*, is Ilkley of course, 11¾ miles distant; and from this point the course is clear. The suggested alterations of the numbers, however, do not surmount the difficulties in the route up to this point, independently of the impossibility of the third identification; and I think the first two are also wrong.

The *Portus Sistuntiorum*, Ptolemy's Σεταντίων λίμην, must be between Μορικάμβη ἑισχυσις, certainly one of the æstuaries which flow into Morecambe bay, and Βελίσσῃμα ἑισχυσις, almost certainly the Ribble; and as it is distinguished from these and other æstuaries by the word λίμην, it must be a haven in the strict sense of the word. Two such havens we have, formed by the Lune and the Wyre respectively, and we cannot hesitate in our choice, for the former only has a Roman station and road corresponding. But it is impossible to trace the route from this station in accordance with the distances stated. This surely is such an *iter* as a forger would not have invented. It is certainly imperfect at this end. We must try it from the other, commencing with *Olicana*.

Abandoning the road to Burwen, and taking that which leads through Halifax to Ripponden, at 10 miles distance

from Ilkley, I find elevations of from 1200 to 1500 feet close to it ; and in the remaining 8 miles it is commanded by a Roman camp. I think it very probable that the position named *Rerigonium* was in the neighbourhood of Ripponden, for these reasons. There is a Roman road, distinct for 2 miles on Blackstone edge, continued by the present road to Ripponden on the one hand, and pointing on the other to the road, which pursues a nearly direct course through Rochdale and Bury to Bolton ; and there, at the distance of about 23 miles from Ripponden, crosses the line of the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester. Thus we have three intervals on a distinctly Roman road, exactly as in this *iter*, *x*, *viii*, *xxiii* ; and the supposition that it is imperfect, that the names of two stations are lost, is surely less violent than the suggested alterations of the numbers, noticed above. The statement by the author of the Description of Britain, that *Rerigonium* was to the westward of the Pennine chain, is easily explained ; it would be so if he supposed, as he naturally might, that the road crossed the chain at the position marked *ad Alpes Penninos* ; it would be otherwise, if my view be correct, that it skirted the eastern flanks of the chain, and crossed at Blackstone edge. Where he says, after naming *Rerigonium*, *Coccium*, and *Lugubalium*, that the two last were garrisoned by the Romans, he implies that the first was not ; and (if he may be trusted) leads us to expect a British town rather than a Roman station. Within a mile of Ripponden there is a remarkable British fortress, the Beacon hill, called also Ringstone edge, on account of a "ring of stones" which characterizes it ; and this I have no doubt is the *Rerigonium* of our *iter*. Ripponden is the "dene" of the "Ribourne," the stream which flows through it ; and if we separate from this name the Teutonic element *burn*, the Celtic denominative *Ri* remains. As then the northern *Περιγόνιον* is now Cairn Ryan, and *Περιγόνιος κόλπος* Loch Ryan, so in this *Ri* we have a trace of the name of our *Rerigonium*. To this hill the Roman road over Blackstone edge, lost in the modern road at Blackcastle clough, tends directly eastward as far as Stones, and is continued by a lane to its foot, crossing the stream ; whilst the road turns north-eastwardly from Stones to Ripponden. From this hill I suppose it proceeded onward to Greteland and Halifax ; for there is nothing on the road through Rip-

ponden at all to compare with the evidences of Roman occupation which Greteland has revealed. That occupation, I believe, was of the nature of a villa residence, and for us simply indicates the course of a road, as the remains at Grimescar indicate the course of the road from Slack to Castleford.

Thus, then, I venture to restore this *iter*.

A Portu Sistuntiorum		Lancaster
Coccio	xx	Ribchester 20,
—	xvii	Bolton 17,
Berigonio	xxiii	Ringstone edge 23,
ad Alpes Penninos	viii	Black edge (1195 feet) 8½,
Alicana	x	Ilkley 10,
Isurio	xviii	Aldborough 21,
Eboraco	xvi	York 15

If the exact correspondence of the intervals, of the name of one station and of the geographical features of another, be (as I think they will be admitted to be), evidence of the correctness of the route I have followed, I submit that they are also evidence of the genuineness of the Itinerary. That this Itinerary is a copy of a genuine document, and that its errors are the result of ignorance, not of fraud, will further appear from an examination of B. xvii.

Having named the Brigantes and their towns, Ptolemy makes us acquainted with the Παρείσοι or Παρίσοι, dwelling about "the bay which has a good haven," and their town Πετοναρία; and from the sequel it appears that their southern frontier was a continuation of that of the Brigantes. It seems to follow, that their bay could not be the small bay of Filey, but must have been Bridlington bay; and that the headland of *Ocellum* must have been to the east of Owthorn, where much of the cliff has disappeared, even in our times. We may take Ptolemy's indications of the relative distances of coast features for an approximate guide (though not those of places inland), and his latitudes and longitudes for our Yorkshire coast agree better with the identifications I propose than any other.

Δοῦνον κόλπος	57.30, 20.15, Dunsley bay ;
Γαβραντουίκων ἐυλίμενος κόλπος	57.0, 21.0, Bridlington, 34 miles ;
Ὀκέλλου ἄκρον	56.40, 21.15, Owthorn, 27 miles ;
Ἄβου ποτ ἐκβολαί	56.30, 21.0, Humber, 12 miles ;

Petuaria, having the same latitude as *Ocellum*, should be near to the Humber, as in B. xvii. it is represented to be. Zeuss connects the name with the British numeral *petuar* "four" ("four" what?) and he supposes, that the initial element in the name of Beverley is a corruption of this word. But there are good grounds for believing, that there was a very early occupation of the East Riding by a Teutonic race, and that the Parisi were no other than a detachment from the Frisian nation, who occupied the opposite coast of the Continent. If so, we are justified in seeking a Teutonic etymology for the name of their town. We find its final element in several Teutonic tribe-names, mentioned by classical authors, — *Angleuarii*, *Chasuarii*, *Chattuarii*, &c.; and it is separable, for the *Angleuarii* are Angles, the *Chasuarii* Hessians, and Strabo's *Chattuarii* are Tacitus' *Chatti*; it is the O. E. *ware* or *waras* "dwellers," and *Petuarii* would be "dwellers in Pet." Then *Petuaria* is the name of a settlement of these *Petuarii*, as *Cantuaria* is a city of the *Cantuarii*, *Cantwaras*, or "inhabitants of Kent." Now I observe the trace of the name of the original *Pet*, the home of the *Petwaras* or *Pettas*, at Petten on the opposite coast of North Holland; and, within 18 miles of it, Beverwyk, corresponding to our Beverley, as if a namesake of the founder of the former, or even the man himself, had been a leader of the early Frisian colonists of this part of our island.

Our only guide to the situation of *Petuaria* is B. xvii.

The part of this *iter* which I propose to examine is, — *Lindo—, in Medio xv, ad Abum xv, unde transis in Maximam ad Petuariam m.p. vi, deinde Eboraco ut supra m.p. xvi.*

The distance from Lincoln to the Humber, 30 miles, is divided equally by a station *in medio*. These 30 miles, along a remarkably straight, and undoubtedly Roman road, bring us to Winterton, where traces of Roman occupation have been found. But these remains are about 2 miles west of the road, and as Winterton is 3 miles from the Humber, it cannot have been the station *ad Abum*. If we lengthen the stage 3 miles to Winteringham, we are met with the difficulty, that Brough, which has been identified with *Petuaria*, is 3 miles distant, not 6. An alternative, however, presents itself; that this *iter* did not follow the straight road all the way to the Humber, but turned to the

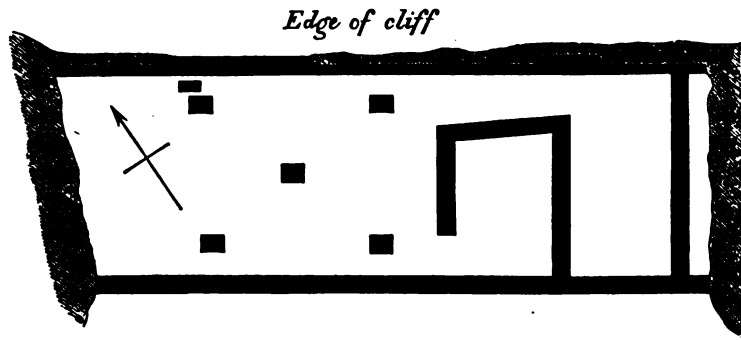
north-eastward, 16 miles from Lincoln, through Brigg, and reached the Humber at Barton, 16 miles farther ; whence a transit of about 6 miles brings us to the ancient port of the river Hull. Here I would place *Petuaria*. For the explanation of *Eboraco ut supra xlv* we must refer to B. v. & A. i., in which, however, the distance is *xl*.

Eboraco		Eburacum	
Deruentione	vii	Deruentione	vii
Delgouicia	xiii	Delgoutia	xiii (v. xii).
Prætorio	xxv	Prætorio	xxv (v. xxii).

Deruentio was certainly some position on the Derwent, and Stamford-bridge is at the distance required ; but neither there, nor at Kexby, $6\frac{1}{2}$, nor at Aldby, 9, are there any Roman remains. *Delgouicia* has always been a puzzle. To the Roman camp at Malton we have 11 miles, and thence to Filey-brigg 22. These distances nearly agree with the variants in A. ; and an interesting discovery in the autumn of 1857 led Dr. Cortis of Filey to identify Filey-brigg with *Prætorium*. As this discovery has only been recorded in a report of the Scarborough Philosophical and Archæological Society, it may be briefly noticed here.

The fall of a portion of the cliff above the brigg, and subsequent exploration, revealed two walls of large stones, 22 feet apart, and nearly parallel, resting upon a bed of puddled clay, four feet below the surface, extending for 57 feet along the narrow cliff, from south-east to north-west, and united by another wall at right angles, near the south-eastern end. At 10 feet distance from the last, and attached to the southern wall, is a chamber 15×12 feet, with one opening, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and beyond this is the court ; between the walls are five large stones, 1·8 high, about 2·6 square and diminished by set-offs to about 1·6, in the centre and at the angles of a parallelogram of 17×14 feet, each having a socket 7 inches square, 3 deep, in the top, as if for the insertion of a wooden pillar ; the central stone having a carved representation of a dog chasing a stag. Near the northern stone is a narrower one, also provided with a socket. Quantities of charred wood, coarse pottery mostly broken, bones of pigs, sheep, goats, oxen, deer, and fowls, were found scattered all over the surface of the court, besides two broken querns, some copper rings, buckles,

pins, spear and arrow heads of iron, the point of a sword, a hone, fragments of glass, a bead, &c. A stone axe-head, and a lias boulder were found in the overlying soil. A reduction of Dr. Cortis's plan is appended. Interesting as



these remains are, they scarcely seem to indicate a military station. Much beyond them, of course, might have fallen with the cliff in the past fifteen centuries ; but, if I understand them aright, their nature and use would preclude anything of consequence interposing between them and the sea. For the five blocks seem intended to have supported a structure of wood, to contain a light for the guidance of mariners ; and the sixth a stair to ascend to it ; and the chamber within the court would serve for the shelter of its guardian. The coins which were found, upwards of 40 in number, all of the later emperors, probably indicate that this structure was a late erection. Dr. Cortis also mentions the foundations of a pier striking off from the middle of the brigg, at an angle of 45°, called the "Spittal rocks ;" another work, called the "Old Key rocks," at an angle of the bay ; and a flat rock, projecting from the cliff, pierced with a large hole, and called the "Old mooring stone." There is, however, no proof of these having been Roman ; and it must not be forgotten that Filey was a port in the middle age. If *Prætorium* was anywhere on the coast, Flamborough Head, commanding the whole coast of Yorkshire, was a much more likely position for it than Filey.

In the absence of any certain *indicia*, no point on the Roman road from Malton to Beverley seems so likely to have been the site of *Delgouicia*, as that where it is crossed by

the road, in part probably Roman, from Stamford-bridge to Bridlington, in the parish of Fimber. To this point the distance from Stamford-bridge is $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles, from Flamborough Head 24. Some of those remarkable intrenchments which abound on the wolds, indicative of early occupation, are observable in one angle of the crossing of the roads, though nothing distinctively Roman. If this situation be accepted, we can see our way at once to the explanation of the *Eboraco ut supra* of B. xvii. For its distance from Hull is the same as its distance from Flamborough Head. Hence the copyist of the Itinerary observing that the same names, and the same distances, intervened between *Eboracum* and *Prætorium*, of his fifth, and *Petuaria* of his seventeenth *iter*, would naturally conclude that *Prætorium* and *Petuaria* were one and the same, and cut short his work by a reference to what he had written before. Or suppose that this *iter* had *Eboraco xvi*, simply ; the addition of *ut supra* still would mark the intention to identify these stations.

Before, however, we come to a conclusion, let us see what will be the effect of an alternative, such as I would adopt only as a last resource. Let us suppose that the distance of *Petuaria* should be corrected *xi*. Then Beverley, 11 miles from Barton, would be *Petuaria* ; Malton, 25 miles from Beverley, *Delgouicia* ; the passage of the Derwent would be at Kexby, 14 miles from Malton ; and so the whole distance from *Petuaria* to *Eboracum* would be $45\frac{1}{2}$ or 46 miles.

There probably was an *iter* which named *Petuaria* next to *Eburacum* without intervening stations, for Ravennas gives us the sequence *Lauaris*, *Cataractonion*, *Eburacum*, *Decuaria*. To these succeeds another,—*Deuouicia*, *Dixio*, *Lugunduno*, (the last two perhaps Thixendale and Londesborough). Now, whichever we adopt of the above suppositions, the identification of the two stations can only be imputed to ignorance, misled by the similarity of the names. But it is possible that the names may designate but one place after all ; that the Romans chose the old Frisian town for the *Prætorium* of their most important province, and but slightly altered its name ? It is, at least, remarkable that a place of such importance as *Prætorium* must have been, should be omitted in the lists of Ravennas ; and that all traces, either of such a station, or of a road leading thither, should have disappeared in the direction in which we have been wont to look for it.



Coins of Neil and Sitric.

YORKSHIRE MINTS UNDER THE DANISH KINGS.

By the Rev. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH, of Erdington.

THE following notes, relating to our Yorkshire mints under the Danish kings, may serve as an Appendix to the accompanying studies of the Roman topography of Yorkshire; for they show that places which were occupied by the Romans maintained their importance during the earlier middle age, though they declined in the later. The fact that a town had a mint, proves that it was for a time a royal residence; for it is evident that the moneyers accompanied the king from place to place, some moneyers having coined money in several places.

Before the Danish invasion, we have only two indications of mints, and these we cannot identify; a penny of Eanred with the legend DES MONETA W̄, on which the last letter must be the initial of a local name; and a penny of Ælle, with the legend ELRED ON VSILT.

After that event, but not until some years after, York appears under a King who reigned from A.D. 884 to 896, who is called Guthfrith or Guthred in the Chronicles, but Cnut on his coins, (as Guthrum of East Anglia bears his baptismal name, Ethelstan, on his). The identity of Guthfrith Cnut I have maintained in my "Essay on the Coins of the Danish Kings of Northhumbria,"⁴ (*Archæologia Æliana*, vol. VII.), and it is now generally admitted. Since I wrote this, I have found an interesting confirmation of my theory in the Durham "Liber Vitæ." That interesting record could not ignore Guthfrith, one of the greatest benefactors to the Church of S. Cuthbert; but instead of that name we find *Cnut*, before those of the 10th century kings, who are elsewhere recorded as its benefactors. He reigned at York, and was buried in the Minster. About one fifth of the coins which bear his name have the reverse legend EBRAICE CIVITAS, or the blundered variations of the name BRAICE, EBARICE,

EBCE, EBIAICE, EBIAICI, EBIARICEI, EBIICE, EBIVICE, EIRAICE, ERAICE, IBRAICI. The spelling *Ebraice* is other than we should have expected; it prevailed, however, for a few years, and then was supplanted by *Eborace*. There are also coins with the obverse legend CVT REX EB, (for *Cnut Rex Ebraice*,) and reverse DNS DS REX OR MIRABILA FECIT, and others with EBRAICE C or EBRAECE C as reverse to the two last.

Nearly four-fifths, however, of the coins of Cnut, have on the reverse the legend CVNNETTI, or the variants CVNETI, CVNNETI, CVNNITI, &c. This, at first, I naturally regarded as the name of a mint; but mature consideration convinced me that it is a Celtic personal name, represented by the modern *Kennedy*, and by many curious variants in the Irish annals, *Ceinnedi*, *Ceinneittig*, *Cenneitig*, *Cennetich*, *Cennetig*, *Cinnedi*, &c.—none of them approaching the antiquity of the coins, nor fairly to be compared with them. In his "Remarks on the Coins of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish Kings of Northumberland" (Numismatic Chronicle, N.S. vol. IX.), Mr. Rashleigh has adopted most of my suggestions, but protests against this, saying that "it needs only to be mentioned to be rejected." He is convinced that *Cunnetti* must be a mint, not a person, for the name occupies a position similar to that which *Ebraice* does on so many other coins of Cnut; he thinks that it means *Cuneca-ceastre*, and, because it occurs on no other coins than those of Cnut, (who had re-established *Cuneca-ceastre* and patronised its bishopric and monastery), he thinks that its glory declined, and that this mint was suppressed. But I would remark that the variants of the name of *Cuneca-ceastre* (*Cunce-ceastre*, *Cunke-cestra*, *Kinege-ceastre*) have always the guttural, where this name, in all the varieties of blundering, retains the T; and that the glory of this city never declined, but rather increased, during the more than a century of its establishment as the see of the northern bishopric. And I would ask, "May not *Cunnetti* be just as well a personal name, since it occupies a place similar to that which *Siefredus* does on other coins of Cnut? and is it not more probably a personal name for this reason, that some letters of *Civitas* invariably accompany *Ebraice*, and that nothing of this kind can be said for the *Cunnetti* coins, (one very rare and blundered variety which has CVNNETCI being certainly not sufficient ground for an

argument against eleven others)?” I had thought of a mint; and, because I could not entertain the idea of Chester le Street (on account of the essential difference between the variants of its ancient name and this), had fixed upon *Cuneet*; but the improbability that the number of the coins of an obscure mint, otherwise unknown, should have been four times greater than that of the mint at York, where Guthfrith reigned, and the fact that this name does not appear on the coins of his successor, led me to suppose it rather the name of a prince associated with him during the whole of his reign, as *Siefredus* appeared to have been at its close. Then I saw at once that it was a Celtic name, and I was led to search the Irish annals for some notice of a prince so named, living at the time. There I found a Kennedy noticed under the years 863, 866, 867, 870, and 878, and his death recorded in 903; thus not appearing at all in Ireland during the time that these coins were issued in Northhumbria. Furthermore, in the very year in which Guthfrith died, and his sons sailed from England to the Seine, the Chronicle of S. Vedast informs us that the name of the leader of the force which entered the Seine was *Hunedeus*, a name which approaches very nearly to *Cunnetti*, (the initial guttural having become an aspirate). Hence I ventured to account for the silence of the Irish annals with regard to their Kennedy, from A.D. 878 to 903, by supposing that he left Ireland after the battle in which his son was slain, A.D. 889, and was in England and France during the greater part of the interval; in England, associated in some way with Guthfrith, perhaps as an *eorl* or *ealdorman* over some province of his kingdom from A.D. 889 to 896; in France thenceforward; and to suggest that his career was like that of the Northmen, with whom he was certainly associated at one time. Of the soundness of my conclusions I am as firmly convinced as when they were first formed; and, now that I have an opportunity of speaking on this subject again, I have the satisfaction of being able to adduce another variant of this name, as much more ancient than our coins as the annals are more recent. An Ogham inscription at Burnham, co. Kerry, reads—

MAQQI CUNITTI

and our
between this and

CVNNETTI is clearly intermediate
CENNETICH, &c. of the annals.

Siefredus or *Sienert*, who first appears as a leader of the Northhumbrian Danes, in 893, and was associated with Guthfrith towards the close of his reign, must have reigned for some years after him. The most of his coins bear the name of York, but it is very rarely written EBRAICE, usually (and that purposely, so as to give a symmetrical appearance to the type), EBIAICE, and always with the addition of CIVI.

During the earlier years of the tenth century we have no regal Northhumbrian coins. A coinage had originated (probably) in East Anglia about A.D. 892, of pennies, which bear on their obverse the legend SC EADMVND REX around a large A, and on the reverse a moneyer's name around a cross. The varieties are so numerous, that we must believe that this coinage was continued for several years, and some of them must have been minted at York, for they have the legend ERIACE CIV, which is clearly one of the blunderings of *Ebraice civ*. Others read HEMINCX REXE, giving us the name of a King *Heming*, unknown in history, with probably the initial of *Ebraice* following his title. This coinage possibly suggested the idea of one which began to be issued from the York mint soon after A.D. 900.

1. The earliest type of this, (exceedingly rare), has the
I
 obverse legend disposed in the form of a cross, SCIPET, with
R
 a key and star or flower; and on the reverse EBORACE CI
 around a cross.

2. Another, I believe unique, has a large key on the obverse. This is, of course, the emblem of S. Peter.

3. Another has SCIPE TRIMO (*neta*) in two lines, with crosses or other ornaments, sometimes a key on the obverse; EBORACE CIV or CIT, around a cross (rarely with a wedge in each angle) on the reverse.

These have been found under circumstances which prove that they could not have been minted later than A.D. 910. Their legends are sometimes correct, but more often grossly blundered.

4. A fourth has the same obverse as the last: on the reverse is the monogram CROLS (*Carolus*), probably taken from the "sword of Carlos," which was an heirloom in the family of Cnut, on some of whose coins this monogram appears. The legends are EBRAI CIT, EABCE CT, EBARICE CT,

reminding us of the blundered legends on the coins of Cnut.

Regnald, son of Guthfrith, grandson of Ivar, who had probably spent his youth in France, and had effected a settlement at Waterford in 917, made an expedition to Scotland in 918, and thence invaded England, and conquered York in 919. The Annals of Ulster, (which contain many notices of events out of Ireland which those of the Four Masters have not), date his death in 920 (*i.e.* 921); but, two years later, the earliest MS. of our Chronicle, in a notice strictly cotemporary, and the last it contains, records the submission of a Regnald to King Eadweard, and in that and the two following years we read in the Chronicle of Frodoard of his adventures and final defeat in France; and as the "*Historia S. Cuthberhti*" says that the Regnald who had invaded Northumbria died in the same year as Eadweard, *i.e.* in 925, we must conclude that the Irish notice was derived from some false report, and that Regnald reigned in York from A.D. 919 to 923.

His coins are of three types—

1. RAHENALT surrounding a head, on the obverse; EIA RICE CT or EARICE CT, round the monogram CROLS on the reverse.

2. RACNOLT surrounding a glove, the glove of Thor; the reverse type as above, the legend EIA RICE CT one coin, on others EIORACII, intended for *Eboraci*; so that here we have both forms of the name at the same time.

3. RACNOLT surrounding a hammer, the hammer of Thor; RABIO CIT around a bow and arrow. It is difficult to believe this legend intended for *Eboraci*, but all the coins of this reign yet discovered are more or less blundered.

Sitric, Regnald's brother, invaded Ireland in 917, was thenceforward engaged in hostilities with Niall Glundubh, King of Ireland, which ended in the defeat and death of the latter, in 919; but in the following year the Irish annals record a defeat of Sitric and his abandonment of Dublin; and Simeon of Durham says he broke into Davenport in Cheshire. He probably went to Northumbria after Regnald's departure. The next notice of him is in MS. D. of the English Chronicle, as King of the Northumbrians, meeting King Æthelstan at Tamworth, and receiving his sister in marriage in 925. He died in 927.

To his time I refer the following types of the coins of the

S. Peter mint at York, and of the S. Martin mint at Lincoln. We have his own coins from other mints, but until evidence shall appear that the mint at York was worked in his name, we may believe that he allowed it, as well as that of Lincoln, to be under ecclesiastical control.

5. SCI PETR MO in two lines, the second interrupted by the device which I have recognized as the hammer of Thor, between them the "sword of Carlos;" on the reverse + EBORACEO, with crescents and pellets in alternate angles.

6. The same in every respect, save that the cross on the reverse has a pellet in each angle.

Eric I., son of Barith, I believe, reigned in Northumbria from 933 to 937, when he perished in the battle of Brunanburh. As being of the family of Ivar he used the type of the sword, but there is no evidence that he coined money at York.

Eric II., son of Harald Haarfager, came to England in 937 or 8, and obtained from Æthelstan the cession of Northumbria, on condition that he should defend the land against the Vikings. He fixed his residence at York. He fell in battle in 940, at Tamworth, opposed to Olaf.

His coins have, on the obverse, his name and title, followed by the first letters of the name of the mint, around a small cross; and on the reverse, the moneyer's name in two lines. The two following belong to York, as they are marked by the first letters of its English name *Eforwic*.

+ ERIC REX EF	INGELGAR M
+ ERIC REX EFOR	RADVLF MO

Olaf, son of Sitric, came to York in 940, and was chosen King by the Northumbrians. A battle ensued between him and Eadmund at Leicester, the result of which was that England north of Watling Street was ceded to him. He was expelled by Eadmund in 943, but returned immediately; expelled again in 945; returned in 948; and finally expelled in 951. The indications of his mints, like those of Eric, follow his title on the obverse of his coins. One of these, unique, has + ANLAF REX EBR around a small cross, on the obverse; on the reverse INGELGAR in one line across the field, and above it a flowering plant.

Three of the latest MSS. of the English Chronicle, D.E.F., written in the 11th and 12th centuries, have the two following entries.

921. Here Sihtric King slew Niel his brother.

923, Here Regnald King won York.

And Simeon of Durham has

914. Niel King was slain by Sihtric his brother.

919. Rex inguald (i.e. Reingwald) stormed York.

In my "Essay" I identified the first of these two events with the battle of Kilmashoge, near Dublin, in 919, in which Sitric son of Guthfrith was opposed to Niall King of Ireland, and Niall fell by the hand of Sitric's brother Olaf. Although I endeavoured to collate carefully all the annals, English and Irish, of the time, I overlooked an important passage in Gaimar's metrical chronicle.

Treis anz apres, Sihtriz, li reis,
 Ki l'autre partie tenait de Merceneis,
 Oscist Neil son frere a tort.
 Li reis Eadward venga sa mort,
 Sihtriz oscist d'une epee,
 Puis fu il reis de la contree.
 Un an apres, par la devise,
 Ad Ranald Ewewic conquise ;
 Co ert un rei demi Daneis,
 De par sa mere estait Engleis.

He dates these events "three years after" the death of Æthelflæd, therefore in 920 or 921, if she died in 917 or 918 (for the year is not certain); and "one year after," therefore in 921 or 922. But as Regnald's conquest of York was almost certainly in 919, the murder of Neil must have been in 918 at the latest, perhaps in 917. Gaimar's acquaintance with some particulars of Mercian history, which other chroniclers have not, leads me to attach some importance to his statements respecting these events, although his work is late, and disfigured by many blunders. He says, then, that Sihtric held "the other part of Mercia," having spoken of the dominion of Æthelflæd, "the lady of the Mercians," inherited from her husband Æthelræd. Now the Cuerdale hoard revealed to us the fact that there was a *Sitric comes* who coined money at Shelford in Nottinghamshire, about A.D. 900, and thus confirmed the statement of Gaimar, that a person so named exercised the authority in one part of Mercia that Æthelræd did in the other; but showed that (up to that time at least) he used no higher title than that which belonged to Æthelræd. This is im-

portant, and gives us confidence in the sequel,—that Eadweard avenged the death of Neil, by putting Sihtric to death, and then took possession of his territory; thus becoming lord of the whole of Mercia, for Æthelræd's portion had come into his hands on the death of Æthelflæd. Still, but for a fortunate discovery, we should have had no idea who Neil was; for although Henry of Huntingdon gives us the series of Danish kings in Northumbria, Haldene, Gudfert, Nigel, Sitric, Reginald, Anlaf, the coins prove that Sitric must have followed Reginald, and the probability is that Henry knew of Neil only from the entries, above cited, in the English chronicle.

In 1862, March 4, at the depth of 16 feet below the surface, within the area of the ancient nave of S. John's church, Chester, a small hoard of about 40 silver coins was found, and taken possession of by the workmen employed. Several of the coins were broken, and others probably disposed of at once; so that the zeal of Mr. Hughes, Secretary to the Architectural, Archæological and Historical Society of Chester, could discover no more than 17, when his attention was drawn to the subject. These comprised 7 of Eadweard the Elder, 1 of the *Sc. Eadmund* class, 7 of *Sci Petri* money (types 1 & 3), and 2 others, resembling the type of the last. Of the two lines of the obverse legend of these the first line reads distinctly the name of NEIL, on the perfect specimen; on the other, which is broken, we have PE—, but I have no doubt but that the die-sinker employed in mistake a crescent-shaped punch, instead of the bar which we have upon the other, and that NEIL was intended, as on that.

Formed, as the letters of the legends on the Northumbrian coins of the period are, each by several punches, the careless omission or misplacement of a single punch, or the substitution of one for another, may present an enigma, which can only be solved by comparison with better executed coins. So here, if we had not NEIL distinctly on one of the coins, it would have been impossible to divine what the legend on the other was intended for. There can be no doubt but that the monogram on the coins of Reginald is intended for CROLS, but on none of them have we more than D for R (a punch wanting); and the blundering I have alluded to above of the legends on his coins, presents his

name degraded to IACHOIT, and that of *Eboraci* to FIOACH, by nothing but omission of punches. On one of the *Sci Petri* coins, of type 1, found at Chester, the misplacement of two punches belonging to E in the stem of the cross, and attaching them to the final I, has transformed

I C
 SCIPET into SCIPLT; and omission of punches on a coin of the

E E
 same type belonging to Mr. Rashleigh, leaves the unintelligible legend SCIIIT.

P
 The second line of the broken coin reads IOEP, but there is a punch out of its place below the E, and this doubtless should be attached to the P, making R, so that the legend should be IOER, intended for IOERL, as RE for REX on other coins, where there was not room for the whole word. This *Joerl* is the equivalent of the O.E. *Eorl*, and the Norse *Jorl*, *Joril*, *Jarl* (as found on Scandinavian Runic monuments). On the more perfect coin the o has been imperfectly punched on the die, so as to present the appearance of a crescent only, and the misplaced punch is wanting. Thus comparison of the two enables us to read the complete legend NEIL IOERL, *Neil earl*; and gives us, for the first time, companions to the SITRIC COMES Cuernedale coins.

The first letter of the reverse legend is peculiar, but comparison with one of the coins of Regnald shows that it is intended for L. Then, supplying two missing punches, and converting inverted FF into EE, we obtain the legend, LEIAD E VI, *Leiade vic*, intended, I believe, for "Leeds town;" and if so, the only evidence of a mint there. The only thing wanting to ensure certainty is the letter s, *Leiades*; but with such examples as *Ebrai cit* above, in which final *ce* is wanting, this can scarcely be said to be a difficulty.

Neil, then, appears to have exercised his authority in Yorkshire, and coined money at Leeds, at the time of the earliest issue of the *Sci Petri* money at York; and as he was content with the title "earl," he was doubtless a vassal of Eadweard. So we can understand Eadweard avenging his death; and the more readily, if we take into consideration the circumstance that the Earl Sitric of A.D. 900 had taken the title of "King;" the English Chronicle giving the title to him, but not to Neil. As to the parentage of these bro-

thers, Neil and Sitric, we have no information. They could not be sons of Ivar, for Sitric, son of Ivar, was slain in 896.

Under the reign of Sitric, son of Guthfrith, we have interesting evidence as to two other Yorkshire mints.

1. LVDO SITRC, in two lines, the latter interrupted by the hammer of Thor, between them the "sword of Carlos"; + ERIC MOTI around a cross with crescents and pellets in alternate angles; exactly the type of the *Sci Petri* money, 5.

I formerly supposed that the *Ludo* on this coin indicated a mint at Leeds, though I could never feel satisfied with the form of the word. Besides the hyphen over v marks a contraction, and shows that at least an n is omitted. I venture now to propose the *Lugunduno* of Ravennas, now Londesborough; or Lund.

2. SITRIC^Y REX in two lines, between them the "sword of Carlos;" + CASTDA EORT, round a cross with pellets and crescents.

Here the legend is made unintelligible by the misplacement of a punch; by taking it from the E and restoring it to the D, we obtain CASTRAFORT, and this is undoubtedly the *Ceasterford* of the English Chronicle, Castleford of to-day. The final T for D has its parallels in *Racnolt* and *Raenalt* for *Regnald* above noticed, and in the names of some moneyers of the *Sc. Eadmund* coins.

A coin of Eric II. reads + ERIC REX TO; the moneyer is INGELGAR.

Coins of Olaf of the same type as the York coin, read + ANLAF REX TOD; the moneyers are RADVLf and WADTER. Another, with the legend on each side around a small cross has + ONLAF REXT and + FARMON MONE.

Taking into consideration the frequent interchange of A and O on these coins, (we have *Anlaf*, *Onlaf*, *Onlof*, *Farman*, and *Farmon*),—we can have no difficulty in recognizing here the *Tada* of the English Chronicle, now Tadcaster.

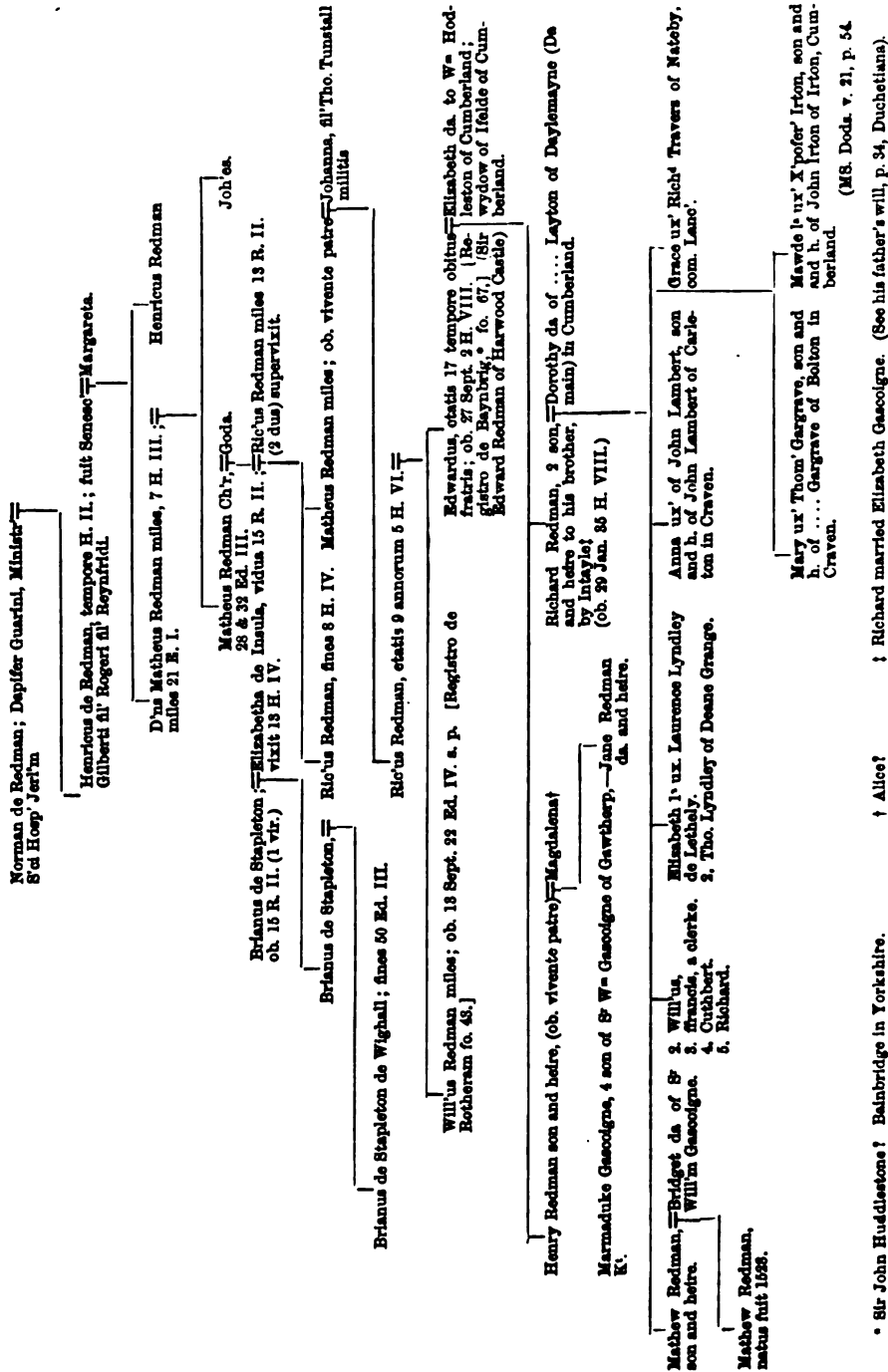
Coins of Eric II. read + ERIC REXA and AL; on both the reverse has INGELGARMO.

A coin of Sitric, brother of Olaf (not mentioned in our annals), has + SITRIC CVNVNC A, around a triquetra; and ASCOLV MONETRA around a banner. These I would refer to *Alunna* or *Alicana* (*Olicana*) as the only places of sufficient importance to claim them, having been Roman stations. But for these I should have thought of Northallerton.

There is a coin of Eric I., ERIC REX in two lines, the sword of Carlos between them, and the REX is placed between the letters AT. I formerly suggested that these letters indicated a mint. I did not then know of any coins of this king with mint indication on the reverse, the moneyer's name being followed by MON or MONE for *Monetarius*, or MI for the English *Minetere*. But Mr. Rashleigh has published a specimen which has + INGELGAR GRI, the moneyer's name followed by the first letters of the name of Grimsby. On this coin of Eric, then, we have + RADVLF MEØI, which seemed unintelligible ; for these coins, unlike the earlier ones, are very carefully executed and free from blunders ; and as a coin of Olaf, of the triquetra and banner type, and of the same moneyer as that of his brother Sitric, has + ANLAF CVNVNCM, I conclude that this addition on Eric's coin also indicates a mint. The introduction of a letter of the Greek alphabet in an Anglo-Saxon legend is not unexampled ; I may cite *Gamma* for G on a coin of the East Anglian Eadmund ; *Theta* for TH in an inscription at Whitchurch, Hants ; *Pi* for P and *Phi* for F in the Gospels of S. Cuthbert ; and a distinct *Omega* on the unique penny of the Northumbrian Eanred. So here we have *Theta*, precisely as in the Whitchurch inscription, and the unintelligible *Meoi* becomes *Methi*, for Methley. For AT then we must seek some other explanation ; and the analogy of a coin of Ælfræd, on which the legend + ELFRÆD REX PLEGN associates Plegmund Archbishop of Canterbury with him, suggests that we may have here the beginning of the name of some nobleman of high rank associated with him ; perhaps even of Adils, who fell with him on the field of Brunanburh.

We must wait for further evidence, before we attempt the identification of the mints indicated by EN and NO on other coins of Eric II., and by single letters on those of Olaf.

PEDIGREE OF REDMAN.



HARWOOD EVIDENCES.

REDMAN OF HARWOOD AND LEVENS.

Communicated by Sir GEORGE DUCKETT, Bart., F.S.A.

THE notices of the Redman family here given are chiefly extracted from the Dodsworth Collections in the Bodleian.

The accompanying pedigree of the family from these MSS. will tend to elucidate the several entries in their respective places of occurrence.

The Redmans were originally of Redman, in Cumberland, now called Redmain, forming a joint township with Isell.

Radman, Redeman, Rodman, Redmund, Redmayn, Rodmund, Redemayn, Ridman, are all variations of the same name.

The Redmans obtained Levens, in Westmoreland, temp. Hen. II., and made it their principal residence from that time, but on the death, without issue, of William de Aldeburgh, (second and last Baron Aldeburgh of Harwood), his two sisters (coheirresses), becoming possessors of that estate, and Sir Richard Redman of Levens marrying one of them, the name and family were thus first brought into the co. of York.

Levins, Levens, (Upper and Lower Levins), was first granted to Henry, son of Norman de Redman, by Ketel, son of Uchtrede (34 Hen. II.), 1188, as shown by the fine passed in that year, for which he paid the King (Hen. II.) one mark, to have the same recorded in the King's court:—"Henricus filius Normanni de Redeman debet unam" "marcam, ut finis, factus inter eum et Ketellum filium Uchtrede, de" "terra de Levenes, recordetur in Curia Regis, de dominatione illius" "terræ, quam Ketellus concessit Henrico et hæredibus suis; cujus" "medietatem Henricus tenebit in dominico suo, et Ketellus tenebit" "aliam medietatem de Henrico per idem servitium quod Henricus inde" "facit capitali domino" (Mag. Rot. 34 Hen. II.; Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, xvii.; Burn, i. 102; Dugdale MS.)

It was doubtless this same Henry de Redeman, who in 7 King John (1206), offered 40 marks to have the custody of the land and heir of Roger de Hedon, and to have the marriage of the same heir to the use of his daughter:—

Lanc' { "Henricus de Redeman dat xl marcas pro habenda custodia"
"terre et heredis Rogeri de Hedon, et pro habendo maritagio"
"ejusdem heredis ad opus filie sue. Et mandatum est Vice-"
"comiti, &c." (Fine Rolls 7 John, m. 4) (Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus, p. 354) (MS. Dods. 87, fo. 4^b).

Part of Levens seems to have been granted to the Redmans by Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid, (of whom we have spoken in our account of the Lancasters, Barons of Kendal), and he again had it from King John. This appears from the annexed deed without date, copied by Dodsworth, in 1627,

being then, "in custodia Jacobi Bellingham de Levenes, in com. Westm'l" "militis, 4 marci," (to which deed William de Wyndesore is an attesting witness):—"Notum sit omnibus, tam presentibus quam futuris," "quod ego Gilebertus, fil' Rogeri fil' Reinfredi, concessi, et hac presenti" "carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Redeman, quod ipse et heredes sui" "teneant Levenes et Selesete (Selside), cum pertinentiis, de me et" "heredibus meis in perpetuum, liberè et quietè, honorificè et integrè," "per servicium decime partis feodi unius militis, pro omni servitio ad" "me vel heredes meos pertinente. Hiis testibus; Gervasio de Aencurt;" "Ri'co de Marisco; Lamb'to de Busset;¹ Gilberto de Lancaster;" "*Will'o de Windsor*; Ada de Hyeland; et multis aliis" (MS. Dods. 159, fo. 180).

The grant of King John (transcribed from the Chartulary of Shap Abbey) runs thus:—

1 John { Rex concessit Gilberto fil' Rogeri filii Reinfredi, et heredibus suis, unam carrucatam terre in Levenes cum piscarie, etc., et 4 carrucat' tre' in ffarleton et Bethum, et 4 carrucat' tre' in Preston et in Holm, et 2 carrucat' tre' in Burton, p' homagio et servitio suo, et pro centum libris stirlingorum, quas dedit Ri'co Regi fratri nostro, scil't ei et heredibus, tenend' p' servic' unius feodi militis, p' omni servitio (MS. Dods. 159, fo. 181).

Henry de Redman, 13 John, was a benefactor to Furness abbey, giving "3 shillings yearly for maintaining lights;" (Burn).

This would be the Henry de Redman, who (with Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid), was sheriff of Yorkshire 12, 13, 14, and 15 King John (Dods. MS. 79, fo. 115).

In the 13 John, Henry de Redman, (son of Norman de Redman afore-said), seneschal of Kendal, was witness to Robert de Veteripont's grant to Shap abbey (Burn, i. 203, 472).

Henry de Redman further gave, in pure and perpetual alms, to the abbey of Shap, and the monks there serving God, certain lands in Lupton, as appears in the chartulary of that house:—"Sciant omnes" "&c. quod ego Henricus de Rademan, dedi domui S'ce Marie Magda-" "lene de Hepp, et Abb'i et canonicis ib'm Deo servientibus, pro salute" "anime mee, et uxoris mee, et omnium antecessorum meorum, in" "puram et perpetuam ele'am, quandam partem terre mee in villa de" "Lupton." (Dods. MS. 159.)

This Henry must, in the 17 John, have had a son and heir Benedict, not mentioned in the pedigree as succeeding his father, for we find in that year (1215) that Benedict, son and heir of Henry de Redeman, was one of the sureties, found by Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid, when compelled by King John to procure pledges for his future fidelity and allegiance. The Fine Roll, recording this event, is given at length, under notice of Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid.

In the 51 Hen. III., we find the King granting (or confirming) a charter of free warren to Henry de Redman, in all his demesne lands of Levins, &c., as seen by the following extract from the register of Shap Abbey, and a Quo Warranto entry of 20 Edw. I. [This Henry (the

¹ This was probably Lambert de Busay, one of Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid's knights, who was taken prisoner in Rochester Castle (Rot. de Finibus 17 John).

father of Matthew de Redman), could scarcely have been the same recorded as son of Norman de Redeman.]

"Cartæ de A^o 51 Hen. III., m., 6."

"Rex concessit Henrico de Redman liberam warennam in omnibus"
"d'nicis terris de Lyvenes, Yeland, et Trenterne in com' Lanc' et"
"Westm'land." (Dods. MS. 159, fo. 181.)

"Math's de Redman sum' fuit ad respondendum d'no Regi de"
"placito quo waranto clamat habere li'b'am warennam in Levenes," &c.

"Et Math's venit, et profert cartam d'ni H. Regis, patris d'ni Regis"
"nunc, anno regni sui quinquagesimo primo, per quam concessit Hen' "
"de Redeman, patri ejusdem Math'i, cujus heres ipse est, quod ipse et "
"heredes sui imperpetuum habeant liberam warennam in omnibus "
"dominiis terris suis de Levenes, Yeland, et Trenterne in com' Lanc' "
"et Westmerland." (Placita de Quo War', a^o R. Edw. I. vicesimo)
(rot. 6 dorso).

Matthew de Redman (temp. Hen. III.), was witness to the confirmation of a grant of lands at Preston, Holme and Hoton, by William de Lancaster (3^d), to Patric, son of Thomas, son of Gospatric. [This same deed of confirmation was also attested by Alexander de Wyndesore, as recorded under the "Wyndesores of Westmoreland."] He was also witness to the grant of Skelsmergh by the said William, to Robert de Leyburne, 25 Edw. I. (1297.)

In the 26th year of Hen. III. a fine was passed between Matthew de Redman (son and heir of Henry de Redman), and William de Lancaster (the third), (son and heir of Helwise, wife of Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid); (Dods. MS. 159, fo. 180).

Matthew de Redman is ordered by writ of military summons, 25 Sept., 25 Edw. I., 1297, (with John of Lancaster, Robert de Clifford, and others), to proceed to Scotland, "cum equis et armis," whence the English have been expelled by William Wallace; (Rot. Scotiæ, i., 49, 57, 88, 185).

He is with others ordered to assemble at Carlisle, 2 Edw. II., (1308), for the defence of the English Marches against the Scots. The same is named in other writs in 1309, issued for a like purpose.

Again, in the year following, in a writ addressed to the Sheriff of Lancaster, we find him nominated a leader of certain foot soldiers, raised for the Scotch war (12 July, 4 Edw. II., 1310):—

"Rex Vicecomiti Lancastriæ salutem. Cum assignavimus dilectos et "
"fideles nostros Robertum de Leyburn, Matheum de Redman, et te, "
"ad eligendum in comitatu tuo trescentes homines pedites, et præfatum "
"Matheum ad ducendum eosdem pedites ad nos, usque Berwycum super "
"Twedam, ita quod sit ibidem in festo Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis "
"prox' futur' ad ultimu', ad proficiscendum exinde nobiscum contra "
"Scotos inimicos et rebelles, &c. T. R. apud Westm. xij die Julii."

In 7 Edw. II. (1314) Matthew de Redman represented the county of Westmoreland in Parliament.

Again we find Matthew de Redman ordered to raise all subjects, between the ages of 20 and 60, capable of bearing arms, in the co. of Westmoreland; dated at Nottingham, 24 Aug. 12 Edw. II., 1318 (m. 13) ("per ipsum Regem et consilium").

On the inquisition taken after the death of Ingelram de Gynes, we find Matthew de Redman one of the jurors.

The following entry, relating to Henry de Redman, probably brother of the aforesaid Matthew (see pedigree), occurs in the roll of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex and Hereford, Constable of England, containing the proffers of service, made at the muster at Carlisle, on the eve of St. John the Baptist (28 Edw. I.) (A.D. 1300).

Northumbr' Ebor,	}	Dominus Johannes Baro de Greystok recognovit et offert servicium duorum feodum militum et dimidium, fac' per Henricum Redman, Ad' de Colewell, &c. cum v. equis coopertis. (Palgrave's Documents illustrating the affairs of Scotland, p. 209.)
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Thomas de Redman, is named in an inquisition (35 Edw. I.) 1307 (no. 143), as one of the next heirs of Alan de Cammerton' (Alanus de "Camberton) :—" Maria quæ fuit uxor, Alani de Camberton' defuncta." "De terris quas ipse tenuit in dotem, die quo Scotis inimicis Regis" "adhæsit, de hereditate Thomæ de Redman et Johannis le Venour," "consanguineorum et hæredum prædicti Alani."

"Dicunt (juratores) super sacramentum suum, quod dicta Maria, die" "quo Scotis adhæsit, tenuit in dotem de hereditate predicti Alani, quondam" "viri sui, tertiam partem duarum carrucatarum terræ cum pertinentiis" "in Camberton (Cammerton), &c., et predicta Maria obiit apud Frerton'" "in comitatu de Fyff in Scotia, circa festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis" "Baptiste, anno regni Regis nunc tricesimo secundo (32 Edw. I.), sicut" "intellexunt per homines de partibus istis, qui a partibus Scotie venerunt," "et dicunt quod predicti Thomas de Redman et Johannes le Venour," "sunt propinquiore heredes dicti Alani." Cumbr' (Roberts' Calend. Geneal. ii., 745).

Adam de Redman is granted free warren in his lands at Yealand (Yealand-Redmayne), in Lancashire 1 Edw. III.

Carta de A° 1 E. III. (N. 61.)

Rex conc' Ad'e de Redman, lib'am warrenam, in omnibus d'nicis terris suis de Yeland in com' Lanc.

[MS. Dods. 159, fo. 195.]

Norman de Redman (Normannus le Redeman), is appointed, 14 July, 1 Edw. III., A.D. 1327 (m. 3), arrayer in the wapentake of Lonsdale, with orders to array all men capable of bearing arms, and by forced marches to join the King, then at Carlisle :—"Quod omnes homines potentes ad" "pugnandum in comitatu Lancastriæ armentur, et diu noctuque iter" "properent ad Regem Edwardum." (Rot. Scot. i., 218.)

Matthew de Redman, probably son of the foregoing Matthew (see pedigree), is commanded (x die Maii, 18 Edward III., 1344) to stop all supplies to the Scots from the ports of Cumberland and Westmoreland (Rot. Scot.).

He was a juror on the inquisition taken after the death of Robert de Clyfford, 18 Edw. III. (1344), and witnesses the deed 7 Edw. III. (1333), in which Sir Walter Strickland (Stirkland), grants to his son John, all his lands in Whinfell, etc.

Matthew de Redman represented Westmoreland in Parliament, 31 Edw. III. (1357). After the death of Joan de Coupland, 49 Edw. III. (1376), the inquisition finds, "that he held of her on the day on which" "she died, the manors of Levens and Lupton by homage and fealty, and" "the service of two marks yearly, as of her manor of Kirkby in Kendall" (Burn).

The entry following refers also to the same Matthew :—

Will'us, fil' Thome de Iccoushaw, attornavit Thoma' Banes, ad deliberandum plenariam seisinam, nomine suo, Matheo de Redemane chivaler, in toto tenemento suo de le Holehows, dat' 28 E. III.

[Dods MS. 159, fol. 195^b.]

Thomas de Redman was one of the jurors on the foregoing inquisition on Joan de Coupland, taken at Kirkby in Kendal on Sat' next after the feast of Corpus Christi 49 Edw. III. 1376.

He held of her divers tenements in Kirkslack, as of the inheritance of Sturnel, by homage and fealty, and the service of 3^s and 4^d yearly as of her manor aforesaid.

This Joan was wife of John de Coupland, to whom King Edward granted (on their reverting to the Crown) the De Coucy estates in Westmoreland, for his military services.

Again we find this last-named Matthew, on the occasion of a truce being concluded with France in 1375, ordered by the King to proclaim the same in Brittany (Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii., p. ii., p. 1034).

On the 10th March, 3 Ric. II. (A.D. 1379—80), the same (or another) Matthew de Redman, was associated with Roger de Clifford in the wardenship of the West Marches, and ordered, with all despatch, to hasten to the defence of Carlisle :—"Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Rog' de" "Clifford et Math'o de Redeman salutem. Sciatis quod assignavimus" "vos, vel alterum utrum, custodes Marchiarum regni nostri Angliæ" "versus partes occidentales in com' Cumb' et Westm'l," &c. &c. (Rot. Scot. v., 2, pp. 21, 35, 82, 88).

The same Matthew de Redman is appointed governor or captain of Roxburgh the year following :—"Rex omnibus ad quos & salutem." "Sciatis quod cum dilectus et fidelis noster Matheus de Redemane, per" "certam indenturam inter nos et ipsum confectam, penes nos sit retentus" "custos castri nostri de Rokesburgh a primo die Maii prox' futur' per" "unum ann' prox' sequentem," &c. (dated 6 March, 4 Rich. II., A.D. 1380—1, m. 3).

The following Exchequer record gives the above more fully, showing that he was so appointed, in succession to the Earl of Northumberland, 1st May 4 Rich. II. (A.D. 1381).

[Exchequer; Queen's Remembrancer Miscellanea; 5 Rich. II. (Ministers' account).]

"Particule compoti Mathei de Redman militis, nuper custodis castri" "Reg' de Rokesburgh, virtute indenturæ inter Regem et ipsum" "Matheum inde fact', videlicet, de receptis et vadijs suis xxx hominum" "ad arma, et l sagittar' equitum, bene et competenter pro guerra, prout" "ad statum suum pertinet arraiatorum, de retinentia sua secum com-" "morancium et existentium in eodem castro, super salva custodia" "ejusdem, videlicet, a primo die Maij, anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi" "post conquestum quarto, quo die idem Matheus, custodiam ejusdem" "castri de comit' Northumbr' per indenturam recepit, usque ad Festum" "Purificationis Beatæ Mariæ prox. sequent., anno quinto, quo die idem" "Matheus custodiam ejusdem castri Thomæ Blekansop (Blenkinsop)," "per indenturam liberavit."

By an ordinance of the same date, the Sheriffwick of the county of Roxburgh is committed to his custody :—"Rex omnibus ad quos &c." "salutem. Sciatis quod nos commisimus eidem Matheo custodiam vice."

"comitatus prædicti, et mandatum est archiep'is, epis', abbatibus,"
 "prioribus, &c. baronibus, militibus et omnibus aliis fidelibus suis de"
 "com' de Rokesburgh, quod eidem Matheo, tanquam vic' nostro com'"
 "predicti, in omnibus que ad officium vicecomitatus pr'd'ti pertinent,"
 "intendentes sint et respondentes. In ouj' &c. T. R. apud Westm' vj"
 "die Martii. P' consilium."

(4 Ric. II. A.D. 1380--81.)

Sir Matthew de Redman is commissioned with Lord Nevill of Raby (8 April, 9 Richard II., A.D. 1386), to treat with the Scots, "ad tractandum" "de inducia." The same

Mathew de Redeman chivaler, is appointed a joint commissioner with the others here named, to treat for terms of peace (20 March, 10 Ric. II., A.D. 1386--7, mem. 1):—"Le Roy a toutz ceux &c. Confiantz au"
 "plein le les loialte, seens (*sic*), avisement, et discretions de les hon'ables"
 "piers en Dieu, Wauter l' evesq' de Bath & Welles, & Thomas evesq'"
 "de Kardoille, & nos tres chiers & foialx Henr' de Percy count de"
 "Northumbr', Johan sire de Nevill, Philip Darcy, Meistre Esmon"
 "Stafford dean de l'eglise cathedrale d' E'vwyk (York), Matheu de"
 "Redemane chivaler, &c. Don' par tesmoignance de n're g'nt seal a"
 "n're paloy de Westm', le xx jour de Martz l'an de grace mill trois"
 "centz quatre vint et sisme, & de noz regnes disme. P le roy & son"
 "conseil."

We find him again constituted a commissioner, together with William de Aldeburgh (12 Ric. II., A.D. 1388), for arraying all the men at arms in Northumberland and the West Riding of Yorkshire; (Rot. Scot. ii. 95).

The entries, immediately foregoing, doubtless refer to the same Sir Matthew, who was Governor of Berwick, [about whom Grafton has a quaint account in his Chronicle], and so also we imagine does the entry here given from the York Wills, published by the Surtees Society:—Richard Burgh, who m. Margaret, d. of Thomas Roos of Kendal, bequeaths in his will, dated 1407, and proved the same year, the sum of 13 marks to two chantry priests, for the celebration of masses for the souls of Sir Matthew Redman and others:—"Item lego xiiij marcas duobus presbi-"
 "teris ad celebrandum, per unum annum, pro animabus Ricardi Regis"
 "Angliæ, Ducis Northfol', Thomæ domini de Clyfford, Mathei de Red-"
 "man militis, pro animabus antecessorum meorum, et pro animabus"
 "omnium fidelium defunctorum, de quibus aliqua bona habui et resti-"
 "tucionem non feci." (Test. Ebor. ; Sur. Soc. i. 348).

We now come to that generation of the Redman family, which, by the intermarriage with that of Aldeburgh, first brought the Redmans to Harwood in Yorkshire.

It is probable from the dates, that the two first enumerated Richards, are identical with the Sir Richard, who follows them in succession.

Richard Redman of Redman, was Sheriff of Cumberland, 13 and 22 Richard II. (1390--1399).

Richard Redman was Sheriff of the same county, 3 Hen. IV. 1402.

By writ, dated at Pontefract, 7 July, 1404, we find Sir Richard Redman, ordered to array the men of Kendal and Lonsdale:—"R. dilecto et"
 "fidei suo Ricardo Redeman chivaler salutem. Sciatis quod assigna-"
 "vimus vos ad arraiandum omnes homines ad arma et sagittarios, ac"
 "alios homines defensabiles in partibus de Kendale et Lonsdale in"

"com' Westmerlandiæ. Teste Rege apud Pontfreyt, vij die Julii (5 " Hen. IV.) (m. 9)."

He was subsequently associated (11 Hen. IV.), with Master Richard Holme, Canon of York, to treat of peace with the Scotch commissioners;—"Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Ricardo Redeman chivaler et Magistro " Ricardo Holme, Canonico Ebor', salutem. Sciatis quod nos consti- " tuimus et assignamus vos deputatos nostros et nuncios speciales." Given at Westminster, xx Novr, 1409 (Rot. Scot. ii., 192).

This was Sir Richard Redman of Levens, whose wife was the Lady Elizabeth Redman, in right of whom he became Lord of a moiety of Harwood. She was d. and coheir of William de Aldeburgh, Lord of Harwood, her first husband having been Sir Bryan Stapleton of Carleton, (ancestor of the present Lord Beaumont).

When treating of the family of De Aldeburgh presently, we shall have occasion to refer again to this Sir Richard and his wife, Elizabeth. We will now add the following, which seem to relate more especially to themselves :—

(Fines Term' Pasche, A° 8 H. IV.)

finis A° 8 H. IV. inter petentem et Ric'um Redman ch'r et Elizabetham uxorem deforciantes de mediat' manerii de Harwod ; Matheus fil' eor', et Ric'us frater Mathei. Si nullus heres masculus fit inter eos, remaneat heredibus Briani Stapleton, filii pr'd'c'e Elizabethæ ; si Brianus ob. s. h. remaneat rectis heredibus pr'd'c'e Elizabethæ.

[Dods. MS. 159, fol. 196^b]

The next entry refers to a grant of lands at Heversham, in Westmoreland :

Johannes, filius Radulphi Arneys, dedit Ric'o de Redemane militi, omn' terras et tenement' sua in villis de Heversham, et Hoton Rofe in Kendale, Test. Waltero de Strikland milite ; Joh'e de Strikland ; Joh'e de Preston, &c. dat' apud Heversham in Kendale 21 Ric. II. (MS. Dods. 159, fo. 195^b).

The following charter, confirming that of his grandfather, is from the chartulary of Byland (Bellalanda) Abbey, formerly in St' Mary's Tower, York (Dods. MS. 94, fo. 23^b) :—

No. 31.

Ric'us Redman miles, filius et heres d'ni Mathei Redman mil., confirmat cartam Mathei de Redman supradict', quondam antecessoris sui ; Test. D'no Will'o de Thirkefeld mil' ; Ric' de Rosse ; Thoma de Wardecope ; Hugone de Salkeld ; Tho. Scaife, et aliis. Dat' apud Kirkeby Kendall in festo Sc'i Thome Appl'i, anno d'ni 1390.

The substance of the ensuing inquisition has been given elsewhere. It refers to the descent of four generations from the foregoing Sir Richard.

[Dods. MS. 159, fo. 196.]

Westm'L 21 Ed. IV. { Inquisitio capta ap^d Kirkby in Kendall, 21 E. IV. Jura-
tores dicunt super sacramentum suum, quod Ric'us Redman
miles, obiit sei'tus de manerio de Levins, in d'nico suo ut
de feodo, et q^d idem Ric'us sic sei'tus, dedit Will'o filio suo
et heredi, et Margarete ux'i ejus, p'cellam manerii p'd'ci, et p'd'cus
Will'us obiit de tali statu sei'tus. Et jur' dicunt quod Margareta Red-
man, nup' uxor Will'i Redman militis, inventa est dotabilis, &c. Ergo
escaetor assignavit eidem Margaret', p' Thoma' Strikland militem attor-

natum suum, quod Edwardus Redman v' suus attornatus p' promoniciones e'is f'cas assign' tertiam partem omnium mess', &c. de Levyns, &c.

Dodsworth also gives the following entry amongst the Escheats of the year following :—

[Esc' A° 22 Edw. IV., N° 49].

Jur' dic' q^d Will'us Redman miles, tenuit die quo obiit manerium de Levens de Will'o Parr, ut de Baronía sua de Kendale, et quod Edwardus Redman est pater et heres predicti Will'i, et etatis xxvj annorum (MS. Dods. 70, fo. 141^b).

The purport of these is, that :—

In 21 Edw. IV., it was found by inquisition that the manor of Levens was held of William Parre, as of his Barony of Kendal, and that Richard Redman Knt., had a son Matthew, who died in vitâ patriâ, which Matthew had a son Richard,² who had a son William, who died a p., and whose heir was his younger brother Edward, then of the age of 26 years. This Edward is shewn to have been living temp. Hen. VII., for Thomas Harrington, then attainted, held of him (according to Burn, i., 294) a messuage and tenement at Lupton, in the 4th of that King, and was in all likelihood the same Edward, Sheriff of Cumberland 9 Hen. VII. (Hutchinson's Cumberland.)

[Entries relating to these descendants of Sir Richard will be quoted presently.]

Elizabeth Redman (his wife), is mentioned in the two wills following :—

In that of Sir Thomas Roos of Ingmanthorp, dated 16 July, 1399 :—

"Item lego dominæ Elizabethæ Redeman meam legendam Sanctorum;" and in that of Sir Henry Vavasour of Haselwood, dated, "die dominica" "in crastino Annunciationis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, Mccccxiii." the bequest is made to her of a ring of gold :—"Item lego dominæ Eliza-
"bethæ de Redman unum annulum de auro."

(Test. Ebor' i., pp. 351, 361. Sur. Soc.)

The will of Sir Richard Redman, made two years preceding his death, is here given from Dods. MS. 159, fol. 195 :—

Ric'us Redman miles ordinat testamentum primo die Maii 3° H. VI., de manerio de Levens in com' Westm', et de burgagiis et reversionibus cum pertinentiis in villa de Harwode, cum advocacionibus cantariarum in eccl'ia de Harwode in hunc modum; Imprimis volo quod feoffatores mei feoffati in manerio de Levens, et burgagiis et advocacibz cantar' de Harwode, dimittant, et feoffamentum faciant, statim post mortem mei prefati Ric'i Redman militis, p' cartas indentatas Ric'o filio meo in omnibus predictis manerio et burgagiis, tenend' et h'end' eidem Ric'o filio meo, usq' ad plenam etatem Ric'i Redman, filii Mathei Redman militis. Ita quod cum predictus Ric'us, filius Mathei Redman militis, pervenerit ad suam plenam etatem, volo quod omnia predicta maneria et burgag' &c. remaneant predicto Ric'o Redman, filio Mathei, et si predictus Ric'us filius Mathei Redman, obierit sine herede masculo de corpore suo procreato, predicta maneria et burgag' remaneant Ric'o Redman filio meo, et heredibus masculis de corpore suo, et si Ric'us fil' meus ob' s. h. masculis, remaneant Joh'i Redman, filio Elene Grene &c. It'm volo quod feoffa-

² The wardship of the half-manor of Duket, and Thomas Redman, during the minority of the Richard here named.

tores mei feoffati, in maneriis de Kereby et Kirkby (Kirkby Overblow) (in com' Ebor'), teneant predicta maneria cum proficuis &c. ad usum meum et assignatorum meorum, durante minore ætate Briani de Stapleton, filii Briani de Stapleton militis, Et quando prefatus Brianus, filius Briani de Stapleton militis, ad plenam ætatem pervenerit, volo quod predicti feoffatores mei, faciant statum et feoffamentum predicto Briano, fil' Briani Stapleton militis, et heredibus masculis de corpore etc., sub condicione quod si Brianus, filius Briani Stapleton militis, seu heredes implacitent, seu intrent vel perturbent me prefatum Ric'um Redman militem, vel heredes meos de corpore Elizabethæ, nuper uxoris mee, masculos legitime procreatos, de manerio et castello de Harwode, &c. tunc feoffatores mei intrent in predictis maneriis de Kereby et Kirkeby, et de eisdem statum facient mihi et heredibus meis masculis, de corpore Elizabethæ, nuper uxoris mee legitime procreatis, et si contingat me qbare sine heredibus de corpore pr'd'ce Elizabethæ procreatis, tunc volo quod predicta maneria de Kereby et Kirkby remaneant rectis heredibus dicte Elizabethæ imp'petuum. Et si contingat pr'd'cam Elizabeth' ob. s. h., remaneant Johanne, ux'i Will'i Ingilby, et Isabelle sorori pr'd'ce Johanne, filiabus Briani de Stapleton militis, sub condic'oe et forma pr'd'cis &c.

Sir R^d Redman was buried at Harwood, where a splendid monument perpetuates his name.

Sir Richard Redman, of Harwood and Levens, (grandson of the foregoing), was knight to represent the county of Westmoreland, 20 Hen. VI. (1442). He married Margaret, d. of Thomas Middleton of Middleton Hall, in Westmoreland.

Edward Redman, named in the post-mortem inquest taken on his brother William, 22 Edw. IV., had granted to him the pardon following:—

H. VIII., A^o regni sui primo, pardonabat Edwardo Redmayn, ffratri et he'd'i Will'i Redmayn militis; alias d'nus

Edwardus Redmayn	} de	{ Isell, in com' Cumb' ar', nuper vic' Cumb'; nuper de Levyns in com' Westm'land ar'; nuper vic' Som'set et Dorset; ffrater et heres Will'i Redmayn militis de Harewod, in com' Ebor' ar'; de London, gentilman; nuper de Chideoke (Chideock), in com' Dorset; (Ex pardonac'oe ip'a sub sigillo).

This Edward had yssue Richard, who had Matthew, that sold Levens and Selsed A^o 4 Elizab. to.....Bellingham (A.D. 1561). (MS. Dods. 159, fo. 196.)

There is a manifest confusion of conflicting evidence, as to the time &c. at which the property of Levens became alienated. Burn asserts, that Edward Redman was the last who resided at Levens. Again, the connection of the family with Westmoreland would seem to have ceased before that time, for we find (according to him), that Levens was purchased by one of the Bellinghams of — Redman^s of Thornton, (Thornton in Lonsdale).

The Westmoreland inquisition on Edward Redman was taken before John Fleming, the King's escheator 1 and 2 Hen. VIII. (1510); that on his son, Richard, 35 and 36 of the same King (1544), before Henry Tol-

³ Redman of Twisleton and Thornton in Lonsdale, is mentioned in the will of Edward Redman; he bore the arms of

Redman, differenced by a mullet, as given in Glover's Visitation, A.D. 1584-5.

son gentleman, the King's escheator for Cumberland and Westmoreland (see pedigree), (App. 11, Report 10, Deputy Keeper Pub. Rec. pp. 17, 19).

In the 22 Hen. VIII. (1530) Thomas Redman was deputy to Thomas Berkeley, bailiff of the Lordship of Sheriff Hutton (Rawl. MS. 451, fo. 44^b).

Richard, son of Edward aforesaid, was the father of Matthew Redman, and he was the *last* of whom we have any certain knowledge, as connected with Harwood. In 1548 he gave in an account of his estate to the then escheator of Yorkshire, and a few years later (9 Eliz.) (1566), he was called upon to show by what title he held the manor of Harwood, "ad ostendendum quo titulo tenet manerium de Harwod" (Jones's Index to Originalia).

Whitaker says: "How or when the property of the Redmans terminated at Harwood is uncertain, and their further history is involved in "obscurity."

Therefore we may add that from this date all authentic record with respect to succession in the Redman family, may be said to cease.

The following are instances of other Redmans, at various dates, whom we fail to identify.

Unidentified Redmans, of Levens, Harwood, etc.

Matthew de Redeman is one with three others, viz. William de Lancaster, Robert de Latham, and John de Mara, who affix their respective seals to the release, without date, from Warinus de Waleton to the abbey of Sees and the priory of Lancaster, of the right of patronage of the church of Eccleston.

[The date of this instrument cannot be later than 31 Hen. III., at which time the last William of Lancaster died, although the attestation of Richard de Pincerna thereto "tunc temporis vicecomite," makes it doubtful whether William de Lancaster (the 3^d) is here indicated.] (Madox Formul. Angl., 376.)

James de Redman was a juror on the inquisition, taken after the death of Philippa, wife of Robert de Veer, Duke of Ireland, 13 Hen. IV., on which inq. Richard Duket was also a juror; (Rawl. MS. B. 438, fo. 70^b).

Thomas Redman is granted (Fines 5 Hen. VI., m. 15, 1427), conjointly with Sir R^d Duket of Grayrigg, the custody of the moiety of the manor of Harwood, during the minority of Richard, grandson of Sir R^d Redman (Dods. MS.).

The same Thomas witnesses previously, 4 Hen. V. (1416), the deed of assignment by William Tunstall, of his castle of Thurland in Lancashire, and other lands in York and Westmoreland (MS. Dods. 62, fo. 2).

Thomas Redman of Bossall, co. York, on whom the inquisition p.m. was taken 7 Hen. VIII. (1516).

Elizabeth Redman, "quondam uxor Johannis Gascoine, ar. obiit 7 Sept' 20 Hen. VIII. (1529), et Willielmus est filius et heres, etat' 60 (sic) annorum" (MS. Dods. 90, fo. 100).

Walter Redman, Doctor of Divinity, is said to have been born 1425, and to have died 1508. He was rector of All Saints, Norwich.

In 1537 John Redman was Doctor of Divinity, and became in 1546 first Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died in 1551, aged 52, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He assisted in compiling the Prayer Book of Edward VI., published in 1549.

In 1594, we find a William Redman, Bishop of Norwich.

We conclude our notices of the Redman family with the following notes from the Dodsworth Collections, of arms and monumental inscription at one time in the Westmoreland churches of Heversham and Kirkby-Lonsdale. In the latter church of Kirkby-Lonsdale, were to be seen "In a south window," in Dodsworth's time (1606), the arms of Redman :—Gules, 3 cushions ermine ; (Dods. MS. 49, fo. 30).

In the parish church of Heversham were the remains of an epitaph in the year 1628, commemorative of this family :—

Com' Westm'l { " Heversham church, 1 May, 1628,"
 " In the middle quyer "
 " Redman erat certe Levens hæres, Harwode aperte,"
 " Edwardo iiiij^{to} regi meruit famulari,"
 " "
 " "
 " "
 " Ye rest broken "
 (" Levens, the antient seat of Redman is in this
 parish ") (MS. Dods. 119, fo. 74).



Redman quartering Aldeburgh.
 ("In the great chamber of Harwood Castle ;" 1584.)

[See Armorial bearings formerly in castle, castle chapel, and parish church of Harwood. (Whitaker's Leeds, i. 167 ; Harl. MS. 1394, fol. 329).]

FAMILY OF ALDEBURGH; HARWOOD EVIDENCES.

Ivo de Aldeburgh, the father of William, Lord of Harwood (by feoffment of Robert de Insula), was a man of reputation in his day, and very conspicuous during the early contests with Scotland under the Edwards, as the various entries recording his name in the ensuing pages will testify.

His wife was Maria, by whom he had William de Aldeburgh, (who married Elizabeth de Insula); and Catherine. This descent is supported by the following entries, and corroborated by other evidences in the sequel :—

"Ego *Maria*, relictæ domini *Ivonis de Aldeburgh* militis, dedi *Willielmo*" "*flio meo* terras in Aldeburgh. Dat' apud Aldeburgh, anno 22 Edw." "III." (Harl. MS. 245, fo. 147).

"Indentura inter *Willielmum, filium Ivonis de Aldeburgh* militis, et" "*Katerinam* sororem dicti Willielmi. Dat' apud Aldeburgh, anno 23" "Edw. III." (Harl. MS. 245, fo. 150).

"Ego *Willielmus, filius Ivonis de Aldeburgh* militis, dedi *Johanni, filio*" "*Will'mi de Moubray, et Margaretæ uxori ejus, manerium meum de*" "*Aldeburgh, in Richemondschire; dat' 26 Edw. III.; (fo. 151.)*"



"[S. Will'mi de Aldeburgh.]"

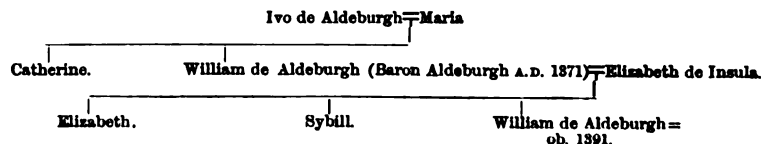
"Carta *Will'mi filii Ivonis de Aldeburgh* militis. Dat' anno 26 Edw.' III." "*Idem tenuit manerium de Aldeburgh, in com. Richmond.*"

"[Sigillum Will'mi de Aldeburgh.]"⁴

Among the evidences verifying the descent of William, Baron Aldeburgh, as son of Ivo, none is more conclusive than the fact that King Edward III., in confirming to William de Aldeburgh the lands which had been granted to Ivo, his father, by Edward Balliol, King of Scotland, expressly names him his *son and heir*, "*filius et heres*."⁴ The transcript

⁴ "A Lyon rampant with a flower de lice on his shoulder." (Harl. MS., 245.)

⁵ A conjectural or imaginary affiliation having been assigned to William de Aldeburgh (as son of Richard), by more than one compiler, we call attention to the error, for the fact is proved by the evidence we have adduced, that the descent of the family of Aldeburgh for three generations was plainly thus :—



from the original record is given hereafter, when noticing entries relative to the Scotch King.

What the relationship may have been of the foregoing, to those named in the ensuing deed without date, we have not ascertained :—

Carta Helewisiæ, uxoris Willielmi filii Roberti de Aldeburgh; (sine data.)
(Collections by Glover, Somerset Herald, in 158— ;

Harl. MS. 245, ff. 147, 150, 151). (Dods. MS. 68, fo. 13^b).

William de Aldeburgh (son of Ivo) aforesaid, summoned to Parliament as a baron, from Jan. 8, 44 Edw. III. (1371), to Aug. 8, 10 Ric. II. (1386), married Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Lisle de Rougemonte, and sister of Robert, Lord Lisle, of whom hereafter, and died in 1388. By her, he had one son, William de Aldeburgh, but it does not appear that he (the son), was ever summoned to Parliament. He died s. p. 20 Aug. 1391, having married Margery, d. of Thomas Sutton, of Sutton in Holderness, leaving his two sisters his co-heirs. Of these, Elizabeth, married 1st Sir Bryan Stapylton of Carleton, Knt., (now represented by Lord Beaumont), and 2^d Sir Richard Redman, of Levens in Westmoreland, Knt., (from whom descended in the female line, and in the fifth degree, Sir Lyonel Duckett, Lord Mayor of London, temp. Elizabeth); Sybill married Sir William Ryther, of Ryther Castle.

The inq. p. m. taken on Will'us de Aldeburgh chr., is dated 15 Ric. II. (prima pars, n^o 2).

That taken after the death of his father, is dated 11 Ric. II. (Escaet' de anno undecimo Ricardi secundi).

By the death of William de Aldeburgh, (in 1391), without issue, the Barony of Aldeburgh fell into *abeyance* between his two sisters, as it still continues with their descendants.

The subjoined tabular pedigree shows the descent of the two lines of Beaumont (Stapleton of Carleton), and of Duckett (through Redman). (See next page.)

The deed of concession of the castle and manor of Harwood, entered on the Fine Roll, 38 Edward III. (1365), has been already quoted; the following are some of the escheats, inquisitions ad q. damnum, and fines, bearing on the foregoing, and verifying them :—

“Robertus de Insula du Rubéo Monte chivaler, feoffavit Willielmum de Aldeburgh ch'r de duabus partibus manerii de Harewode” (Escaet' de anno tricesimo octavo Edw. III. n^o 19) (38 Edw. III.).

(Hill' fines, 17 Ric. II.)

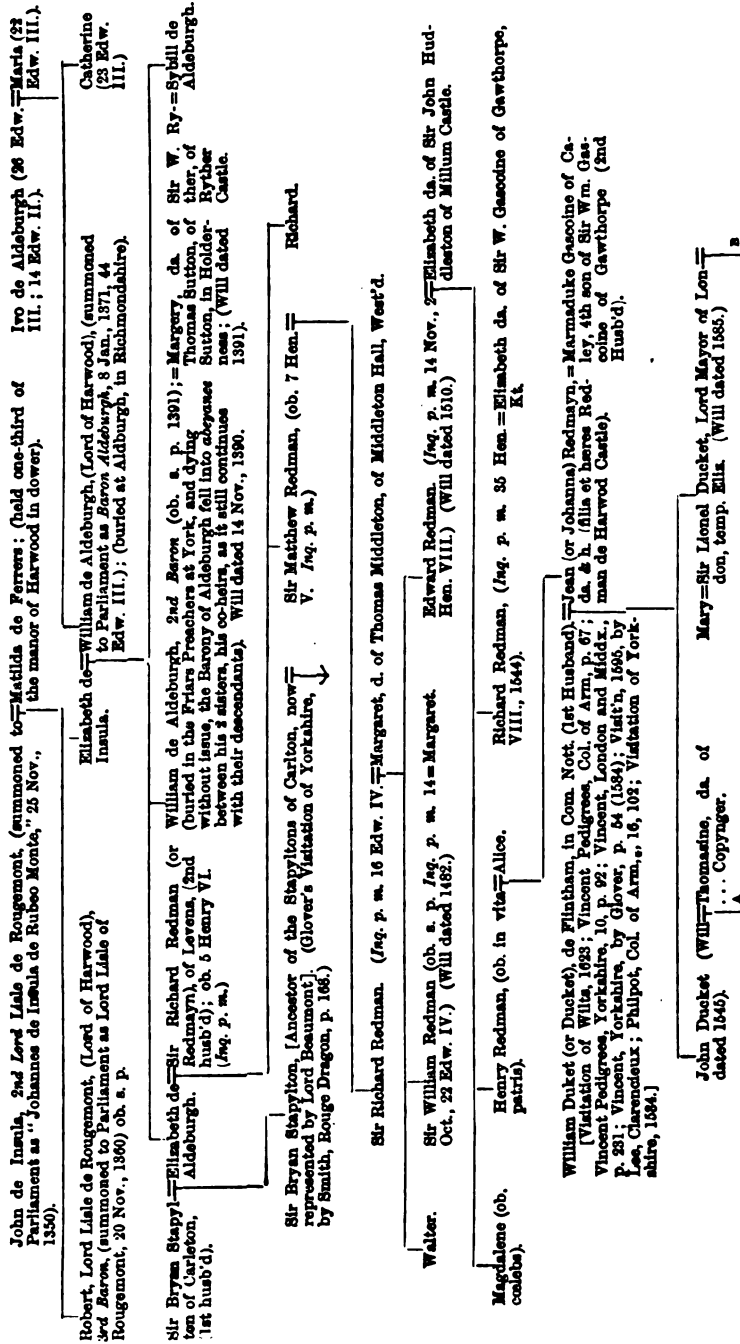
Brianus Stapelton et *Elizabetha* uxor ejus, ac Willielmus de Ryther et *Sibilla* uxor ejus, *sorores et heredes* Willielmi de Aldeburgh, tenent de Rege in capite per servicium xij^e partis unius feodi militis, i mess' et 2 acras ter' in *Harwode*, ac reddunt iiij^{li} vj^s xj^d annuatim exeunt' de 30 mess' et et 44 bo' ter' in *Harwod*, Lofthouse, Stokehouse, Hoby, Weton, Rigton in le forest, Estkeswyk, Dunkeswyk, Helthwaite, Horsford, Yedon, Weardelay, Stokton et Est Carlton, que sunt parcellæ manerii de Harwode (MS. Dods. 72, fo. 96^b). (fo. 439.)

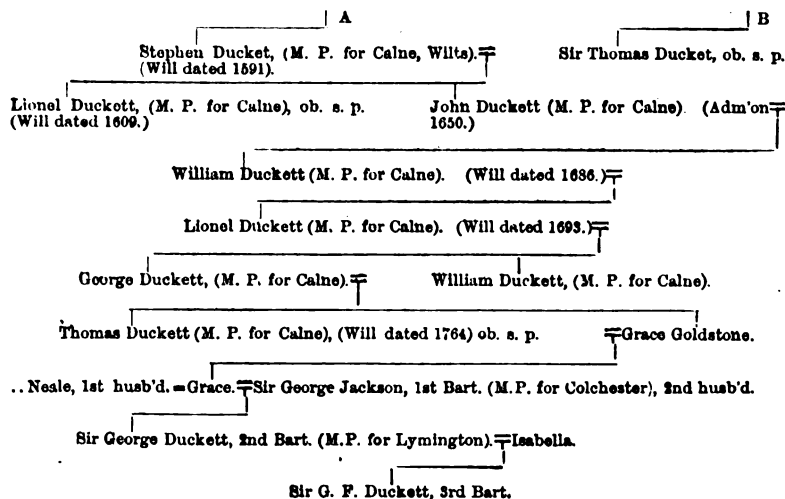
[Esch. 11 R. II. N^o 3.]

Ebor' { Willielmus de Aldeburgh tenet liij^s viij^d redd', exeunt' de 16
mess' etc. in Harwod &c., ac tenet de Johanne de Percy de Kildale, per servicium mil', ma' de Kelfeild, ac al' mess' et ter' in Kelfeild. (fo. 472.)

(Dods. MS. 72, fo. 107^b)

BARONY OF ALDEBURGH.





Accorde fait entre *Mons^r Will^m de Aldeburgh* seigneur de Harwood et Kyrkby overblawes,⁶ d'une p'te, et *Mons^r Will^m de Erghom* (Ergom, Ergum), seigneur de Kereby d'autre p'te, de com'une que le dit *Mons^r Will^m de Erghom* et sez tennaunts de Kerby, claymont en Kirkby et Swynden. Dat' a Harwod 49 Ed. III. [Ex carta in mea custodia (Dodsworth)]. (Dods. MS. 159, fo. 194^b).

(Inq. ad q. d., anno 10 Ric. II. ; n^o. 5.)

Pro Willielmo de Aldeburgh { Via que ducit de Harwood et Dunkeswyk
subter parcum ipsius Willielmi, apud villam
de Harwode in elargationem dicti parci.

Ebor^r.

The arms of Aldeburgh were to be seen in the north window of the choir of Swillington church, in Yorkshire, when visited by Dodsworth in 1620, viz. :—" G. a lion rampant arg. on his breast a fleur de lis az." The armorial ensigns of this family figure very extensively in the carved stone work of the ruins of Harwood castle at the present day, more particularly alluded to in the sequel of this notice.

William de Aldeburgh, son of Ivo, was buried at Aldburgh,⁷ in Richmondshire, where a still existing brass records his memory.

His son, another William, dying on the 20th Aug. 1391, was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers at York.

The brass in question, commemorative of William de Aldeburgh, with the effigy of a knight, is fixed on the wall of the north aisle of Aldborough church. The only part of the inscription now remaining is :—" WILL'S " " D. ALDEBURGH." From the mixture of plate and chain armour on the knight's figure, it has been conjectured that the brass must date to a period anterior to 1391, (namely to the date of the 1st William de Aldeburgh's death). The church is supposed to date from about 1360 or 1370, so that there can be little doubt but that the brass is to the memory of William the father, who was very probably the founder of the church.

⁶ Kirkby-Overblow.

⁷ Aldborough, near Boroughbridge.

We may further observe that in Aldborough church there is a stone, to the memory of a later member of the family, (which has clearly had a brass upon it, but of which nothing now remains,) with this inscription:—"Orate pro an. Will'i Aldbu[rg] armig: qui obiit xv die Aprilis" "auno d'ni mill'mo cccc lxxv, (cujus) anime propitiatur Deus, Amen." Below the inscription is the matrix of a brazen cross.

The will of William de Aldeburgh (the son), here given, dated 1390, from the Registry of York, forms one of the "Testamenta Eboracensia" of the Surtees Society.

Testamentum Domini Willielmi Aldeburgh militis.

"En nom de Dieu, Amen. Lunedy le xiiii^{me} jour de Novembre, l'an " "du regne le Roy Richard second puis le conquest d'Engleterre quator- " "zieme, à Harwode, Jeo William de Aldeburgh chivaler, ordeigne et " "face mon testament en tiel forme. En primes, jeo devise ma alme a " "Dieu mon creatour, et mon corps sepeliere ou Dieu plerra. Item jeo " "done et devise as Freres Prechours d'Everwyk xx^s. Item jeo done et " "devise as Freres Austynes d'Everwyk xx^s. Item jeo done et devise as " "Freres Carmis d'Everwyk xx^s. Item jeo done et devise a Margerie " "ma femme et mes enfauntz le residue de touz mes bienz et chateux " "meobbles et non meobbles, ensemblement ove lez dettz a moy duez " "gardez et mariage que jeo ay tanque al plein age d'eux, issint q'ele " "paye lez dettz monsieur mon pier, et mene et face pour m' alme si " "come ele voydroit que jeo face pour ele. Et pour cest disposicon " "bien et loialment faire et parfournier, en charge de lour almes devaunt " "Dieux, tiels face et ordeigne mes executours, c'est a dire mon sire " "Robert de Roos de Ingmanthorp, mon sire Thomas de Merkenfeld, " "frere Johan de Parische, Sire Robert de Wycliff; Majorie ma feme " "ensemement executour et surveieur ove dit mon Sire Robert de Roos, ou " "saunz luy en cas s'il ne voet meller. Ceaux tesmoignes, Sire Johan " "de Langton vicar de Harwode, Sire Thomas de Birken chapleyne, " "Sire Roger de Midelton chapleyn, William Gilson clerk, et Edmund " "de Whithall. En tesmoignance de q'ele chose a cest present mon " "testament ay mys mon seall de mez armes, a Harwod, l'an et jour " "ausditez" [Prob. vi Sept^r M.CCCXCL.]

Mention is made of this same William de Aldeburgh, in the will of Sir Marmaduke Constable, of Holme and Flamborough, wherein he is appointed one of the supervisors.—"Et ad istam ultimam voluntatem" "meam &c. &c., constituo et ordino &c., necnon Dominos Willielmum" "de Aldeburgh et Robertum de Ros, milites, supervisores hujus testa- " "menti mei facio et constituo. Datum apud Flayneburgh, die et anno " "supra dictis, MCCCCLXXVI." (Prob. xix Junii, MCCCCLXXXVIII.) [Testamenta Eboracensia (Sur. Soc. i., 99)].

In the next ensuing entries we have especial notice made of this William and his two sisters, with reference to the Priory of Gresley (or Beauvale) in Notts, from the chartulary of which house they are extracted. The first of these records shews how the prior and convent, in consideration of a considerable sum given on a certain occasion to this Carthusian house when in great need of the same, by Sir W^m de Ryther Knt., his wife Sibyl, and Elizabeth, relict of Sir Brian Stapleton (the

* Her will, in the same Registry, is dated the year following, "in die" "veneris proximo ante festum Michaelis,"

"anno Domini Mcccxi." She had issue by her 1st husband, Peter de Mauley.

younger) Knt., (sisters and coheirs of Wm. de Aldeburgh), obliged themselves for ever to provide two of their number to sing daily masses for the souls of the father and mother of the said William; for himself; his wife; and Edward Baliol (King of Scotland). The second extract, from the same chartulary, is a confirmation by King Richard II. of the first, by which further licence is granted to these parties to give to the prior and convent, each of them forty shillings of yearly rent, out of their respective moieties of the specified manors, to celebrate divine offices (as stated) for the souls of the donors and their parents, in the conventual church of Beauvale.

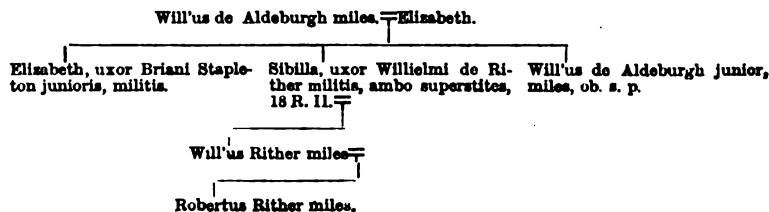
[Ex Registro Prioratus de Grysley, in com. Nott.]

De Duabus Capellanis pro animabus Willielmi de Adleburgh chevalier, et Edwardi Baliol celebrandis.

Noverit universitas vestra, nos Priorem et Conventum domus Belle Vallis, ordinis Cartusiensis, Eborac' diocesis, considerantes piam et sinceram affectionem, quam *Dominus Willielmus de Aldeburgh junior*, erga nos et domum nostram, semper in vita sua novimus habuisse, et presertim pro magna et notabili summa pecunie, quam Dominus Will'mus de Ryther ch'r, et Sibilla uxor ejus, et Elizabetha, quæ fuit uxor Briani Stapilton junioris ch'r, *sorores et heredes predicti D'ni Willielmi*, nobis in magna necessitate nostra solverunt, concessisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris, ad inveniendum duos monachos singulis diebus speciatim celebraturos, pro patre et matre predicti d'ni Willielmi, ac pro seipso, et uxore sua, et pro d'no Edwardo de Ballioll, imperpetuum, &c.

(Licentia Regia pro eadem cantaria fundanda.)

Ricardus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ &c., Salutem. Licet de communi consilio regni nostri Angliæ statutum sit, quod non liceat viris religiosis ingredi feodum alicujus, ita quod ad manum mortuam deveniat, sine licentiâ nostra, et capitalis domini, de quo res illa immediate tenetur, De gratia tamen nostra speciali licentiam dedimus Elizabethæ, quæ fuit uxor Briani de Stapilton junioris ch'r, quod ipsa quendam annum redditum 40 solidorum, exeuntem de medietate maneriorum de Kirkeby-Orblawers, & Kereby; ac Willielmo de Rither chevalier, et Sibillæ uxor' ejus, quod ipsi quendam annum redditum 40 solidorum, exeuntem de altera medietate maneriorum predictorum, quæ de nobis non tenentur, dare possint Priori et Conventui de Bella Valle, ordinis Cartusiensis, habendum sibi et successoribus suis, ad inveniendum duos monachos capellanos, divina pro animabus *Willielmi de Aldeburgh ch'r*, patris, et Elizabethæ uxoris ejus, matris predictarum Elizabethæ, que fuit uxor Briani, et Sibillæ, ac pro animabus *Willielmi de Aldeburgh ch'r*, fratris earundem Elizabethæ, que fuit uxor Briani, et Sibillæ, & Margeriæ uxoris ejus, & pro anima Edwardi Ballioll ch'r, in ecclesia ipsorum Prioris et Conventus de Bella Valle, singulis diebus celebraturos &c. (ibid.)



[Dodsworth MS. 102, fo. 2; the same are also recorded by Dugdale (Monasticon vi., 14)].

The pecuniary part of this transaction, as regarded Elizabeth, wife of Brian Stapleton the younger, is shown by the obligatory instrument next quoted. From Dugdale we learn, (Mon. vi. 14), that William de Rither and Sybil his wife, (Mich. 18 Ric. II.), levied on their part a fine for the purpose, and after some intermission, the payment of the rents was made good to the prior by William de Rither and Robert his son.

(Carta Briani Stapleton.)

Elizabetha uxor Briani de Stapilton jun^r, tenetur in xx^{li} per recognitionem Priori &c. de Bella Valle &c., exeunt' de medietat' maneriorum de Kirkeby Orblawes, et Kereby, &c., pro animabus Willielmi Aldeburgh ch'r, fratris Elizabethæ predictæ, et Margerie uxoris ejus, et Edw^d Balliol, &c. (MS. Dods. 30, fo. 122.)

We are also made aware by Dugdale of a further grant of lands to the same Priory by William de Aldeburgh. By deed, bearing date at Willey Haye, in Notts, Feb. 10, 1362 (37 Edw. III.), he gave and confirmed to the prior and convent of Beauvale, the said Hay of Willey, which he had of the gift of Sir Thomas de Metham Knt., heir to his great-grandfather Adam, son of Adam de Hamelton, to whom King Edward I. granted the same in the 9th of his reign.

It is to this gift of Thomas de Metham, to which Dodsworth alludes in the next entry :—

Noveritis me dedisse Willielmo de Aldeburgh militi totum solum predictum, (namely :—"totum solum Haye de Willeye cum pertinentiis," "quod est infra metas foreste Domini Regis de Shirwood," &c.) &c. Dat' apud Walleye in com. Nott. A^o 36 Edward III. (Dodsworth MS. 102, fo. 2^b).

At this manor of Wheatley, near Doncaster, William de Aldeburgh, attested one of the last acts of Edward Balliol, the charter, namely, by which he relinquished to King Edward III., the castle and town of Helicourt in Veymont, 27th May 1363 (37 Edw. III.) (Rymer iii., ii., 78).

The next evidences we find of Ivo de Aldeburgh and his son William, have reference to the Scotch wars, and their connection with Edward Balliol, testifying to the personal prowess of the former in the King's service. We recapitulate the different entries without reference to the exact order of occurrence :

In the return of losses, by horses killed at the siege of Roxburgh and elsewhere in Scotland in 1298, the fact is chronicled of Ivo de Aldeburgh, that he lost a dark bay horse, valued at ten marks, in a sally made upon the day of Magdalen on Nesbit Moor, after the siege was raised :—"E un" "autre cheval 'ner bay,' qe fust a Ive de Aldburge, fu perdu a meisme" "le jour, pris de x mars." (Stevenson's Documents Illustrative of Scotland).

From an original document in the Public Record Office we find that he lost another horse (Sept. 8), in a sally at Penyerhocke, valued at 100^s :—"Et a meisme le jour perdi Ive de Aldburge un cheval ferrant" "pomelee, pris de c^s."

Again, when supplies were thrown into the Castle of Stirling, Ivo de Aldeburgh lost a dark grey horse, valued before the steward and treasurer at 8 marks :—"Et a meisme le voyage perdi Ive de Aldburge un cheval" "'ner lyard,' prise devant le seneschal e tresorier, pris viii mars."

The annexed exhibits the pay of himself and his two squires, for certain periods of active employment, forming a marked contrast to that of modern times:—*Titulus de denariis solutis diversis comitibus, baronibus, militibus, et aliis, pro vadiis suis & hominum suorum ad arma, et hobelariorum, tam in guerra Scotia quam in munitionibus castrorum in Marchia Scotiæ et Angliæ, a primo die Maii, anno quinto decimo, et cetera.*

(Dods. MS. 35, f. 126, 135.)

Vadia Guerre.

Ivo de Aldeburgh { D'no Ivoni de Aldeburgh militi, pro vadiis suis et duorum scutiferorum suorum, a *iii^{to}* die Augusti, quo die equi sui app'ciabantur, usque ad dictum *xxij^m* diem Septembr', utroque computato p' 1 dies, ipso percipiente per diem *ij^s*, et quolibet scutifero suo *xij^d*..... *xⁱⁱ* p'b

Ivo de Aldeburgh { D'no Ivoni de Aldeburgh militi misso in comitiva D'ni Edmundi Comitis Kanc', cum equis et armis de Tuttebury⁹ versus partes australes, ad persequendum Robertum Seawer rebellem Regis, pro vadiis suis et unius scutiferi sui, a *xv^{to}* die Novembr' anno *xvj^o* usque ad *xij* diem Januarii proximo sequentem, utroque comput' p' *lx* dies, p' quos fuit intendens dicto comiti, pro negotio predicto, percipiendo per diem pro seipso *ij^s*, et pro scutifero suo *xij^d*..... *ixⁱⁱ* p'b

Ivo de Aldeburgh is again recorded in 1304, in the roll of certain of King Edward's followers at Dunfermline, and elsewhere in Scotland. His name in the list of the Earls, Barons, and others therein enumerated in the King's service, is enrolled as Aldeborgh', Aldeborg':—"Ces sont" "les nouns de celx qui demorront en le service le Roi a Dunf'melyn et ailleurs en Escoce."

Le compte de Gloucestre,

Le compte de Hereford,

Le compte de Lancastre,

Le compte de Warewik,

&c. &c. &c.

Mons. Robert de Clifford,

Mons. Robert de Roos,

Mons. Ivo de Aldeborgh'

&c. &c. &c. (Documents illustrating the affairs of Scotland ; Palgrave, p. 262).

The above document bears this indorsement:—"Nomina magnatum "qui morabuntur cum domino Rege apud Dunfermelyn, in guerra Scoc'."

He appears on the roll of magnates and others, who served under the King at the siege of Stirling, 32 Edw. I. (1304), being on that occasion in the retinue of H. le Despenser.

"De la compagnie Mons. H. le Despens' "

"Mons' Ivo de Aldeborg' "

(Palgrave, idem).

In 1305, we find Ivo de Aldeburgh, (Monsieur Ivo de Aldeburgh), appointed Sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh, Haddington, and Linlithgow,

in the Parliament held (by adjournment), at Westminster, in eight days of the Nativity of the Virgin (15th Sept' 33 Edw. I.) :—"Que le Chamb'-lein qui aura la garde du chastel de Berewyk mette desouz luy tiel "pur estre Viscunte de Berewyk, pur qui il voudra respondre."

"D Edeneburgh, {
 "De Hadington, { Mons. Ivo de Aldeburgh Viscunte."
 "De Lynliseu, }

His name is again seen in the list of petitions, presented to King Edward, by his followers, when preparing to invade Scotland, in 34th of his reign 1306, for lands or preferment in that country, and of the grants to be made thereupon in anticipation :—"Item le xxi jour d Aug^r a "Neuburgh' en Tyndale, pria au Roi pare bille Ivo de Aldeburgh, qu il "li vousist g^{nt}' les terres Margarete, jadys femme Mons' Gilbert Fraser," "ensemblement ove le mariage de meisme ce Margarete" (Indorsed), "Les peticions des terres qui sont demandees en Escoce." (Documents Illustrating the affairs of Scotland, p. 301).

In 1311 he was one of the commissioners of array in Tynedale, (18 June, 4 Edw. II.). In a commission of this date, we find him ordered to raise 150 foot soldiers in Tyndale, for the Scotch war :—"Ivo de Aldeburgh' ad eligendum CL pedites in partibus de Tyndale" (Rotuli Scotiæ, i., 101).

In the 1st year of Edw. III. (1326) he is entrusted, in conjunction with the Abbot of Rievaulx, to treat for peace with Robert Brus, King of Scotland, with further power to the same parties, to swear to the truce, already concluded between the two countries, ("to swear on the" "*King's soul*" to the inviolable observance of the same), dated from Westminster, 4 March :—"Potestas concessa Abatti de Rievall et Ivoni "de Aldeburgh, ad tractandum cum Roberto Rege Scotiæ, et ad "jurandum in animam Regis de treuga cum ipso Roberto ; (Prima "Patent' de anno primo Regis Edwardi tertii ;" m. 19).

On the 2^d April of the year following (1327), the King orders Ivo de Aldeburgh to arrange with Robert de Brus, for the safe-conduct of the Archbishop of York, and the other ambassadors, whom he is about to send to treat of such peace, and for the time and place of their meeting (Rymer, ii., p. ii., 704) (Syllabus, 241) (Ridpath, Border History, p. 282).

In 14 Edw. II. (1321), he had already been granted the Sherifffick of the county of Rutland, and the custody of the castle of Oakham :—

Rotel' { Rex commisit Ivoni de Aldeburgh com' Rotel', et castrum R. de
 Okeham cum p'tin', q' fuerunt Hugonis Daudele junioris, & q'
 &c. custod' quamdiu &c. . Ita quod firmas, etc. (Abbreviatio
 Rot. Orig. 14 Edw. I., Ro. 11).

In 1322 (15 Edw. II.), as Sheriff of Rutlandshire, he makes a special return to the writ of general summons, directed by the writ tested at Bishop's Thorpe, 20 June, declaring his great anxiety to serve the King.

In recognition of these various services King Edw. III. in the 21 and 28 of his reign, confirmed to William de Aldeburgh, the grants made in Scotland by Edward Balliol to his father Ivo (A.D. 1348-1355) :—"Rex "confirmavit Willielmo de Aldeburgh in feodo terras de Broxmuth, quæ "Ivoni patri suo concess' fuerunt per Edwardum Reg. Scotorum" (Patent' de anno 21 Edw. III., prima pars, m. 34).

The Rotuli Scotiæ (21 Edw. III. ; i., 707) record the same :—

(Mandatur quod, Willielmus de Aldeburgh pacificè fruatur terris,
quas Edwardus de Balliolo patri suo dederat.)

Rex dilecto clerico suo, Willielmo de Kelleseye, camerario suo ville Berewici super Twedam salutem, Ex parte *Willielmi, fil' et heredis Ivonis de Aldeburgh*, nobis est g^ravit' (graviter) conquerendo monstratum, quod licet Edwardus de Balliolo, Rex Scotie, per cartam suam quam confirmavimus, omnia terras et tenement' in villa de Brokesmuth, in com' de Rokesburgh, prefato Ivoni & heredibus suis diu antequam terre & ten' que habemus in Scot', ex donatione & concessione predicti regis Scotie, nobis data fuerunt & concessa, dederit & concesserit ; idemque Ivo tota vita sua, & prefatus *Willielmus, ut filius & heres prefati Ivonis*, virtute donationis, concessionis, & confirmationis predictarum, terras et ten' predicta pacificè tenuerint, quousque castrum de Rokesburgh extra manus nostras per inimicos nostros de Scotia captum fuit, &c. &c. Nos nolentes prefato Willielmo injuriari in hac parte, vobis mandamus, quod &c. &c. T. R. apud Westm., xij die Novembr' (Rot. Scot. 21 Edw. III., m. 1, 13 Nov^r).

Again :—

“ Rex confirmavit Willielmo de Aldeburgh in feodo, diversa castra et ”
“ maneria in Galwidia, ei concess' per Edwardum Reg' Scotorum ” (Pat.
de anno 28 Edw. III., 3^a pars : Calendar. Rot. Pat. 164).

The next entries refer to safe-conduct granted to W. de Aldeburgh on the occasions specified, and plainly point to the position which he held, being styled therein “ Valettus,” clearly showing how constantly he was about the person of Balliol. The office of “ Valettus ” may have been equivalent to what afterwards was designated as “ gentleman of the ” “ privy chamber ” or “ esquire of the body ” about the person of the King. This office might in those days have been productive of close friendship, if of no other tie.

Salvus conductus pro *Willielmo de Aldeburgh, valetto* Edwardi de Balliol.

Rex universis et singulis vicecomitibus, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod cum *Will'us de Aldeburgh, valettus* dilecti et fidelis, ac consanguinei nostri, Edwardi de Balliol, regis Scotie, de eisdem partibus Scotie ad nos in Angliam, de licentia nostra sit venturus, suscepimus ipsum Will'm, veniendo cum comitiva, pro statu suo competenti, in regno nostro predicto ibidem morando, et exinde ad dictas partes Scotie redeundo, in protectionem et defensionem nostras speciales, necnon in salvum et securum conductum nostrum. Et ideo vobis mandamus &c. In cujus rei &c. usque ad festum Pasche prox' futur' duratur'. T. R. apud Westm' xxij die Januar' per ipsum Regem. (Rot. Scot. 24 Edw. III., m. 1 (1350–51).

Salvus conductus et protectio ab arresto pro *Willielmo de Aldeburgh*.

Rex universis et singulis vicecomitibus &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod cum *Will's de Alderburgh, valettus* magnifici principis Edwardi de Balliol regis Scotie, consanguinei nostri carissimi, ad nos in Angliam, ubicunque fuerimus, cum predicto Rege sit venturus ; Nos volentes securitati ipsius Willielmi in hac parte providere, suscepimus ipsum Will'm, homines, familiares, equos, harnesia, et res sua quæcumque, ad nos in Angliam, ubicunque fuerimus, veniendo ibidem, morando et exinde libere pro

voluntate sua redeundo, &c. in protectionem, et defensionem nostram specialem &c. &c. (Rot. Scot. 26 Edw. III., m. 2).

A further record illustrates the employment of William de Aldeburgh in matters of trust, in connection with Balliol. The substance of the extract from the Rotuli Scotiæ is to the effect that "King" Edward accepts the protestation of Edward de Balliol, conveyed "through William de Aldeburgh and others, that his negotiations with" "the Scots, shall not prejudice his treaty with himself, the King of" "England."

(A.D. 1350-1) { Edward par la grace de Dieu, &c., a touz yceux qi cestes lettres verront ou orront, salut, Com' n're t's cher cousin & foial Mons' Edward de Balliol, roi d'Escoce, eit enformez & charchez Patrik Macoulagh, *William de Aldeburgh* and Johan de Wiginton, de monstrier en son noun p' devient nous & n're conseil, c'teines & div'ses choses de ses volutes, toucheantz son estat & busoignes, en droit de la trete p' entre nous et ceux d'Escoce, &c. &c. Nous p'assentement de n're dit conseil, en acceptant la dite p'testation issint faite, volons & g'ntons, p' nous & p' noz heirs &c. &c. q' la dite protestation soit tenue p' ferme & estably a touz jours en la forme avantdite. En tesmoignance de quelle chose nous avons fait faire cestes nos lettres patentes enseales de n're grant seal.

Don' a Westmonster, le quart jour de Marcz, l' an de n're regne d'Englet're vintisme quint, & de France duzisme.

(Rot. Scot. 25 Edw. III., m. 5, Mar. 4) (Rymer's Syllabus, p. 369).

The Fœdera of Rymer furnish us with another entry :—"Sir William" "de Aldeburgh is appointed a commissioner with Robert de Wykford" " (archdeacon of Winchester), to treat with Pope Urban V." Westminster, Nov. 29th, 1368 (R. iii., p. ii., 853).

Lastly in the 12 Ric. II. (A.D. 1388) a commission of array was issued and directed to William de Aldeburgh, Sir Matthew Redman, and others, to muster and array the men-at-arms of their respective counties, for the defence of the realm against the Scots, the former being appointed arrayer for the West Riding of Yorkshire, the latter for Northumberland :—"Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis" (here follow the names) "arraiatoribus hominum ad arma" &c. (Rot. Scot. ii., 95).

(This record refers to William, 2^d Baron Aldeburgh, who died in 1391.)

The Patent Roll 7 Edw. III. (m. 11) (1333), records another of this family :—"Ricardus de Aldeburgh, unus justiciariorum de Banco ad" "placita in eodem Banco ad placitum Regis." (He is so accounted for by Foss, in his "Judges of England," and in various commissions recording his name.)

The name of Edward Balliol, King of Scotland,¹⁰ is of frequent and prominent occurrence in entries relating both to Harwood, and the family of de Aldeburgh, and it has been always a matter of some speculation among historians, as to the exact connection of this family with that King. The extracts which we have given may tend possibly to elucidate this point.

The following particulars, however, show an unusual, and not very

¹⁰ Edward Balliol, aided by Edward III., disputed the throne of Scotland with David II.

explainable, amount of intimacy. Over the entrance portal of Harwood castle are to be seen *at this day* the arms of Balliol in juxtaposition with those of Aldeburgh. In many other parts of the ruined building the same arms are conspicuous, in the oratory (or chapel), and elsewhere. Margery, the wife of William de Aldeburgh, in her will bequeaths to her son by her first husband, a piece of tapestry worked with the arms of Balliol and Aldeburgh (*cum armis Ballioli et Aldeburgh*).

ROBERT DE INSULA DE RUBEON MONTE: (HARWOOD EVIDENCES).

We have shown that the Redmans became possessed of Harwood through the Aldeburghs, and these again by intermarriage with the family of De Lisle. It had previously passed through several hands, the first, or one of the first having been Robert de Romelli, to whom in 1087, the same was given by the Conqueror. The dau'r of Robert de Romelli married William de Meschines, and from him, through the De Curcis, Fitzgeralds, De Redvers, De Fortibus, and lastly Edmund Earl of Lancaster, (son of King Hen. III.), it came (partly by descent, partly by marriage) in 1274, to the De Lisles of Rougemont.

Of this family was Robert de Insula, Lord Lisle de Rougemonte, summoned to Parliament in 5 (9) Edw. II., A.D. 1312, (1316), and is the first who concerns us, the succession eventually reverting to him. He was father of Robert de Lisle, who, 18 Edw. III. (1345), as by the following Close Roll entry, released to his brother John de Insula, and his heirs, all his rights in the manor of Harwood, and the presentation to the church thereof.

(Close Rolls, 18 Edw. III., pars 4^a, m. 30.)

"Rob'tus de Insula, fil' Rob'ti de Insula, quondam d'ni de Harwod," "relax' d'no Joh'i de Insula, fratri suo, et her' suis, totum jus in ma'" "de Harwod, cum advoca'o'e eccli'e ejusdem villa." (MS. Dods. 85, fo. 111).

John de L'Isle (2^d Baron), Lord of Harwood, summoned to Parliament, as "Johannes de Insula de Rubeon Monte," in 1350, was the father of Robert de Lisle de Rougemonte, Lord of Harwood, who by fine, in 1365, conceded to Elizabeth de Insula, his sister, and her husband Sir William de Aldeburgh, (Baron Aldeburgh) (already noticed), the castle and manor of Harwood; the sum paid for the license of making such concession being 70 pounds:—

"Robertus de Insula de Rubeon Monte, dat sexaginta et decem libras," "pro licen' feoffandi Will'm de Aldeburgh militem et Elizabeth' ux' ejus," "de duabus partibus manerii de Harwood cum p'tin', q' de Rege tenet in" "capite," &c. (Fines 38 Edw. III., r^o 31).

The following extracts, chiefly from the Dodsworth Collections, relate not only to Harwood, but to other estates of the family in the Isle of Wight, Cambridgeshire, etc., evidencing very extensive possessions.

¹¹ A transcript of this entry, in the Dodsworth MSS., has 10th; (Dods. MS. 72, fo. 83^b).

John de Lisle (as above) had married Matilda de Ferrers at the time the aforesaid agreement was concluded; she held the third part of the manor of Harwood in dower (as shown hereafter). She held also the manor of Compton-Monceaux, in co. Southampton.

(Escaet' de A° 10 Edw. III., m. 34, S'uth't'.)

"Jur' dicunt, quod Matill' de fferers, que fuit uxor' Joh'is de Insula,"
 "tenuit ad terminum vite, manerium de Compton Monceaux cum"
 "pertinentiis, in comitatu S'uth't, de Johanne de Freules et Matill' ux'e"
 "ejus,..... et quod dicta Matill' ferers nullum habuit heredem"
 "de predicto manerio." (MS. Dods. 60, fo. 64).

The annexed entry shows the manors held by John de Lisle, as of the honour of Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight.

"D'n's Joh'es de Insula tenuit in capite 7 feoda militum et dimid' de"
 "Isabella de Fortibus, comitissa Devon, et d'na Insulæ Vectæ (al's de"
 "Wyght), unde tenet in d'nico maneria de Bonde, Apeltreford, Woditon,"
 "Colerton, Schorewell, Rewe, Bonechirch, Holeweye, Schendlyng, et"
 "Nyppingham, inter feoda militaria, pertinent' ad castrum de Caresbroke"
 "in Insula de Wyght, S'uth't'. Ex libro de inq. captis tempore E. I.,"
 "patet ibidem de pluribus aliis feodis p'tin' ad dictum castrum. Escaet'"
 "A° 47 H. III., N° 32;" (Dods. MS., 119, fo. 52).

The next entries relate to his lands in Beds, Lincolnshire, and Cambridgeshire.

[Close Rolls, 23 Ed. III. p° 2^{da}, m. 4.]

"Will'us de la Pole ch'r, & Marger' ux' ejus, relax' Jo. de Lyle, d'no"
 "de Rubeomonte, totum jus in ma' de Alnchesey, Edworthe, & Penton,"
 "in com' Bedd', et in ma' de Coldham in com' Cantab'," &c. (MS. Dods. 85, fo. 116^b).

Origin', ro. 72.

Line' { Joh'es filius Rob'ti Lisle ch'r, tenet in capite manerium de
 Salklife, ac 2 carrucatas terre in Risby, Salcliffe, et Appilby
 (Appleby), per lic' nuper Willielmi Swinburne (fo. 407, 1.) (MS. Dods. 72, fo. 90).

[Close Rolls, 24 Ed. III., p° 1, m. 20.]

Warinus fil' Warini, de Bassingbourne, de Wynepole & al', relax' Joh'i de Insula de Rubeomonte, totum jus in ma' de Coldham, in com' Cantab', ac in ma' de Everton, &c. ut supra. (MS. Dods. 85, fo. 116^b).

By the succeeding entry, he releases to Sir R^d Tempest his right in the advowson of the church of Kirkby Overblow (near Harwood).

[Close Rolls, 22 Ed. III., m. 28.]

Joh'es de Insula de Rubeo monte, relax' Ric'o Tempest ch'r, tctum jus in advoc'ac'e eccl'ie de Kirkby Overblowes (Dods. MS. 85, fo. 121^b).

The Close Roll entry here cited shows the manors which he gave for their lives, to his two sisters, Alice S^t Maur, and Elizabeth Peverell, &c., including the presentation of Wimpole in Cambridgeshire, and the manor of Heyford Warren, in Oxon, (to which last we shall revert presently, on its being assigned by his son to Wm. of Wickham, the Bishop of Winchester).

[Close Rolls, 14 Ed. III., pars 2^{da}, m. 33 and 23; et A° 15 Edw.

III., pars 1^a, m. 9.]

Cantab' { Joh'es de Lisle, dn's de Harewode, conc' Alicie de Seynt
 Oxon' { Maure, et Elizab' Peverell, Ric'o de Bayhouse et W'o de
 Hertf' { Ruston ch'rs, ad vitam eorum, maneria de Coveney, Ramton,

Cotenham, Westwyk, Heyford Warin, et Pissebury (Pishobury), et eccl'iam de Wimpole. (MS. Dods. 85, fo. 108.)

The ensuing documents, which close our notices touching John, Lord Lisle de Rougemonte, are dated at Bolton in Craven, in the same year, 26 Edw. III. They refer to the foundation and endowment of a chantry in the parish church of Harwood, to which the Prior and Convent of Bolton, and John de Insula, were respectively parties, for the maintenance of six priests, to sing daily masses for the souls of himself, his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, or of seven chantry-priests, to perform the same service in the conventual church of Bolton.

[“ In M^r Gascoines book marked F.”]

Notum sit omnibus, me Johannem de Insula de Rubeo Monte, dedisse, concessisse etc. priori et conventui de Boulton in Craven, 44 messuagia, mille quatuor viginti et quindecim acras terre, duas acras prati, quatuor libratas, decem et novem solidatas, duas denariatas, et unam ob' reddit', cum pertinentiis, in maner' de Harwod, q' q'dem mess', t're, prata et redit' extenduntur per escactor' d'ni Regis, ad 40^{li} per annu', juxta verum valorem eorum, H'end' et Tenend' etc., pro quadam cantaria sex capellanorum manutenend' et faciend' in eccl'ia de Harwode, vel eccl'ia de Boulton, juxta ordinac'oem et compositionem inter dictos priorem et conventum et Jo'm, quousque dictus Joh's et he'des sui, dictam ecclesiam de Harwod, prefatis priori et conventui, vel eorum success' appropriaverint, vel appropriari fecerint sumptibus suis, prout in quâdam indenturâ inter prefatos plenius poterit apparere, etc., tunc bene liceat prefato Johanni et heredibus, predicta mess', ter', pratum, et redditum reintrare et retinere in pristino statu in perpetuum. Dat' ap^d Boulton in Craven, in festo Sc'i Andree Ap'li, anno regni regis E. III. a conquestu vicesimo sexto. [Irrotulatur in dorso Clausarum Cancellar' A^o 27 ejusdem Regis, incipient' Isabella de Ffortibus, &c.—F. 4 b.] (MS. Dods. 127, fo. 12^b.)

Carta prioris de Bolton, facta domino Johanni de Insula, super cantariam sex capellanorum in ecclesia de Harwod.

(Ex autog. in turri Mariæ Ebor'.)

Cantaria sex capell'or' in eccl'ia de Harwod, 26 Edw. III.	{	Notum sit omnibus, quod licet prior et conventus de Bolton in Craven, concesserint Johanni de Insula, d'no de Rubeo monte, quendam annuum redditum centum librarum percipiendum sibi, et heredibus suis, de omnibus terris et tenementis dictorum prioris et conventus in Raudon, Wygdon, Brandon, Emeseye, &c. prout in quodam scripto, sibi inde confecto, plenius continetur; dictus tamen Joh'es vult, et concedit, pro se et heredibus suis, quod si predicti prior et conventus perfecterint et manutenuerint quandam cantariam sex capellanorum in ecclesia de Harwode, vel septem capellanorum in ecclesia sua de Bolton, et etiam servierint omnes alias conventiones juxta ordinationem, et concordiam inter eos initas, et concordatas; vel si predictus Joh'es et he'des sui non servaverint, ex parte sua, dictas conventiones, prout in quadam alia indenturâ inter eos inde factâ plenius continetur; quod dictus annuus redditus cesset, quousque predicti prior et conventus in faciendo dictas conventiones, seu earum aliquam defecerint; et si forte defecerint, et dictus Joh'es, et he'des sui ex parte sua eas plene servaverint, in suo robore perseveret, in forma qua in dictâ indenturâ plenius continetur. In cujus rei testimonium sigilla partium presentibus alternatim sunt appensa. Dat'
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apud Bolton, supradicta die Mercurii prox' post festum Sc'i Leonardi A°
r. r. Edwardi tertii a conquestu Anglie vicesimo sexto.

Irrotulatur in dorso clausar' 26 Ed. III. mense Novemb.

L.S.

(Dugdale, Monasticon, vi., 206.) (MS. Doda. 8, fo. 222^b.)

The counterpart of the seal of John de Lisle affixed to this document, (with the exception of the legend), is seen in the armorial seal of his son to deed dated 3 Ric. II., among the evidences of New College, Oxford, as given overleaf.

Robert, Lord Lisle de Rougemont, the son and heir of John de Insula, was the brother of Elizabeth de Insula, who married William de Aldeburgh. We have already given the entry by which it appears that he paid 70^l, for the license of enfeofing his brother-in-law in the manor of Harwood and its appurtenances. The annexed record exhibits the completion of the arrangement.

[Fines in Treasury for Ebor' Com'; liber D., fo. 24; (fines a° 1, ad. 7 R. 2).]

Finis A° p'd'c'o in crastino sc'i Jo. Bapt° int' Will'm de Aldeburgh & Elizabetham uxorem ejus que', & Rob'tum de Insula de Rubeomonte, def', de manerio de Harwode cum pertinentiis, exceptis uno mess' & una bov' terre in Carleton. Elizabetha mortua 1 R. II. Matilda, ux' Jo. de Insula de Rubeomonte, tenet in dotem de he'ditat' predicti Rob'ti.

(MS. Doda. 127, fo. 35^b.)

[Index to Ebor. Fines. Vol. 21. Page 2.]

A° 38 E. III. { Inter *Will'm de Aldeburgh* mil' et *Elizabeth ux' ejus* quer',
Harewode M.; { et *Rob'tu' de Insula de Rubeo Monte* deforc', de manerio
Carleton { de Harewode cu' p'tin', except' j. mess' et j. bov' terre in
A° 1° R. II. { Carleton. Et postea in cur' Rg. Ricardi ib'm, anno regni
{ eiusd' Rg. Angl' et Franc' p'mo, post mortem pred'c'e
Elizabethhe, concess' et recordat' cora' Rob'to Bealknap, Will'o de Skipwth,
Roger de Kirke-ton, Roger de Fulthorp, et Henr' de Percehay, Justic'
etc., inter p'd' Will'm et pred' Rob', de pred'c'o manerio cu' p'tiu' etc.,
scil't q'd pred' Rob' rec' pred' mⁱⁿ cu' p'tin', sic' pred'c'um est, esse jus'
ipi' Will'i, et duas p'tes pred'c'i man'ij cu' p'tin', sicut pred'c'm est, exceptis
etia' quatuor libris, et decem solidatis redditus, in eisdem duabz p'tibz
eisdem Will'o et Eliz' reddidit in ead' cur'. Et concessit pred'cis Will'o
et Eliz', pred' redd' cu' p'tin', simul cu' homagijs et totis s'vicijs Abb'tis
de Fountaynes, Abb'tis de Kirkestall, Abb'is de Sallay, Prioris de Bolton,
Mag'ri Hospitalis Sc'i Leonardi Ebor', et successor' suor', Briani de Thorne-
hall ch'r, Simonis Ward chivaler, Mag'ri Galfr'i le Scrop, Edm'i de Mire-
stowe, Ric'i de Aldeburgh, Thome de Lomleye, Rob'ti Passelowe, (and
many others), et her' suor', de totis ten' que de pred'c'o Rob'to de Insula
prius tenuerunt in pred'cis duabz p'tibz, H'end' et Tenend' eisd' *Will'o de Aldeburgh' et Eliu'*, et her' ip'ius Will'i de D'no Rege et her' suis, p' ser-

vicia que ad illos duas p'tes et redditu', sicut pred'c'm est, p'tinent imp'p'm ; Et p'terea id' Rob' concessit etc., q'd tertia p's pred'c'i man'ij cu' p'tin', sicut pred'c'm est, qu'am Matilda, que fuit uxor Joh'is de Insula de Rubeo Monte, tenuit in dotem de hereditate p'd'c'i Roberti, die quo, etc., post decessum ip'ius Matill', integrè remaneat pred'c'is Will'o et Eliz', et her' ip'ius Will'i, Tenend' simul etc. Et hec concord' f'c'a fuit p' p'ceptu' ip'ius D'ni Rg. [Index, 21 ; Ebor' Fines, 16, fo. 2 ; Public Record Office]

The next entries, earlier in point of date, refer to his heirship, and possessions elsewhere :—

(Mich'is Recorda, 32 Edw. III. ; ro. 10.)

Ebor' { Rex commisit custodiam 2^{ar} partium manerii de Harwode, nuper
Johannis de Insula de Rubemonte qui tenuit in capite. Ac
Robertus de Insula est heres. (fo. 315 ^m.)

(Dods. MS. 72, fo. 45.)

Rob'tus de Insula habet warennam apud Wilburgham et Rampton, in com' Cantab'.

(m. 3.)

(Dods. MS. 80, fo. 221.)

(Clausæ, 42 E. III., m. 7.)

Cantab' { Robertus de Insula de Rubeomonte,¹² concessit Roberto de
Assheton chivaler, et Henrico de Snayth clerico, maneria sua
de Rampton, Cotenham, et Westwyke, in com' Cantab', et
manerium de Pysshoubury in com' Hertf', una cum advocac'o'e eccl'ie de
Rampton predict'.

m. 6. d.

Robertus de Insula, fil' et heres Johannis de Insula militis, concessit domino Regi et heredibus suis curiam in Walbrok in London, et curiam in Arkesden in com' Essex, et aliam curiam in Farnynghe in com' North't', tenend' de diversis tenentibus et feodis suis de 3 septimanis in 3 septimanas, et iiij^{xx} et vj feoda militum in diversis com' Anglie, viz' &c.

(Dods. MS. 36, fo. 21.)

Close Rolls. 33 Ed. III., m. 23.

Rob'tus, fil Joh'is de Insula, conc' Aliciæ, q' fuit ux' Thome Seymer militis, ad vitam manerium de Heyford Warin &c. (Dods. MS. 85, f. 123^b.)

In Rymer's Fœdera we have the record of "the exemption by the " King of Robert de Insula from attendance at parliaments and " councils, from serving on juries or assizes, from the holding of offices, " the payment of subsidies, and military service." Westminster 24 Nov^r 1368 ; (Rymer's Fœdera, viii., p. ii., 852—Syllabus, p. 448.)

Among the muniments in possession of New College, Oxford, is the annexed document, (numbered 44 in the College "Register of Evidences"), being a statute-staple bond in favour of William of Wykeham, founder of the College, and Bishop of Winchester, entered into by the same Robert Lord Lisle, of the co. of Cambridge, and dated 26th April, 3 Ric. II. :—

[Register of Evidences of New Col. Oxford, fol. 192 ; Cart. 44.]

Noverint universi me Robertum de Lisle militem, de com' Cantab',

¹² Rougemont, at the western extremity of Dun Keswick, in the parish of Harwood, once the residence of the De Lisles, is no longer discernible, save by

the rampart which indicates its former site. The place is now known by the name of Ridgman Scar.

teneri Reverendo in Christo patri, d'no Will'mo de Wykeham, episcopo Wytoniensi, in quatuor millibus libris sterlingorum, pro mercandisiis ab eo in Stapulâ Westmonasterii emptis; Solvendis eidem episcopo aut suo certo attornato hoc scriptum ostendenti, heredibus vel executoribus suis, a festo Pentecostes proximo futuro post datam presentium; Et nisi fecero, concedo quod currat super me, et heredes et executores meos pœna in Statuto Stapulæ predictæ, pro hujusmodi debitis recuperandis, ordinata. Datum in dictâ Stapulâ Westmonasterii, vicesimo sexto die Aprilis, Anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi tertio.

Pendent from this document is his armorial seal, with the legend:—
S. ROBERT DE LISLE MOINE, a fac-simile representation of which is here given.¹³



[Seal of Robert, Lord Lisle de Rougemonte attached to deed, dated 26th April, 3 Ric. II. in possession of New Col. Oxford.]

This deed is followed by another (Cart. 14), at fo. 193 of the "Register of Evidences," being a receipt from Robert de Lisle for £50 sterling to William of Wykeham, for the reversion of the manor and advowson of Heyford Waryn (Heyford-Warren), &c. which we have seen had been previously granted and confirmed, for the term of her life, to his aunt, Alice St Maur. Dated at Suthwerke, 28 April, 3^d Rich. II.

The heraldic bearings of a former Robert de L'Isle, are entered upon the Roll of the Battle of Boroughbridge, 15 Edw. II.

"Dor ove i fesse ii cheverouns de sable." (Palgrave).

These correspond with the coat ascribed to him in Gwilt's Ordinary—"Sire Robert del Yle, de or a un fesse e ij cheverons de sable" (p. 8).

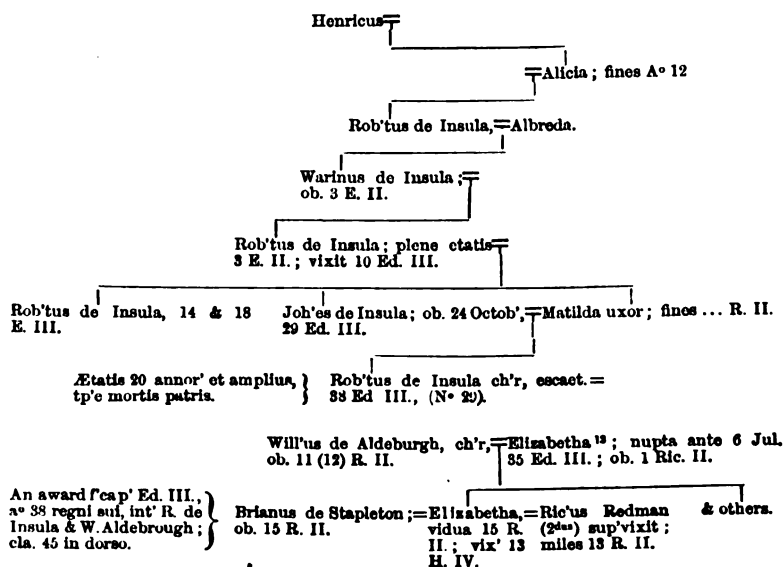
The coat of Sire Johan del Yle (from the same authority), was "de or, un cheveron et iij foilles de gleteurs goules (Her. and Gen. ii., 73).

The arms of de Lisle, (Or, a fess between two chevronels sable), are thus alluded to by Glover, as existing in his day in Harwood church. "A knight kneeling in glasse all in male wth this coat armour on his back, and on the pomell of his sword. The sword put under his "girdell. In the churche of Harwood in com' Ebor, 1585." [Harl. MS.,

¹³ The seal of Robert de Lisle, attached to the bond in question, is a good exemplification of the bearing of the "mill-

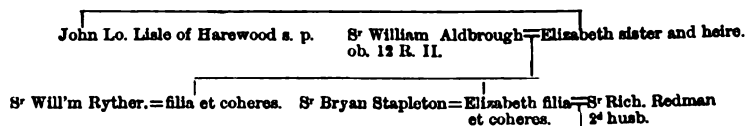
stone" crest, with the mill-rind (fer de moline) in situ.

Subjoined is the descent of De Lisle de Rougemont, exhibited in the Dodsworth Collections, with the observation thereon of Brooke, York Herald. [From the entries just recorded, Elizabeth de Insula is not in any way shown to be the sister of John.]



(Dods. MS. 5, fo. 20^b.)

“Broke Yorke Herauld in his booke called the Century of Errors,”
 “observed by him in Mr. Cambden's Brittain, says that :
 “Elizabeth the wief of S^r Will^m Auldebrough was sister & heir of ”
 “John lo. Lisle in the tyme of E. III., and not of Robert, and that S^r ”
 “William had yssue 2 da. & heires by his s^d wife Elizabeth, viz^t, one ”
 “married to S^r Will^m Ryther, & another named Elizabeth, married ”
 “first to Sir Brian Stapleton, after to S^r Richard Redman, as appeareth ”
 “by inquisition taken after the death of the s^d S^r Will^m Aldbrough ”
 “12 R. II., pa. 66.”



[Dods. MS. 159, fol. 196.]

¹³ " This Elizabeth supposed not proved to be "
" sister to S^r Rob^t de Insula."
A^o 1 R. II.; fines eodem A^o; (Note by Dodsworth).

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE YORKSHIRE TENANTS
NAMED IN DOMESDAY BOOK.

By ALFRED S. ELLIS.

INTRODUCTION.

This remarkable record is now so much better known than formerly, from the photo-facsimiles recently executed at the Ordnance Survey Office, that but few words, by way of preface, are needed, to introduce the following biographical notices. The Yorkshire portion, however, still wants indices and an accompanying translation to make it more appreciated and useful, for the translation by the Rev. William Bawden, Vicar of Hooton-Pagnel, of what refers to Yorkshire, Notts, &c., printed at Doncaster in 1809, has long been out of print.

Yorkshire, "EVRVICSCIRE," occupies from folio 298 to 333 of the first volume of the original MS. and this part of the survey seems to have been made during the year 1085, previous to the completion and registration of all the returns from the various counties.

The portion referring to Yorkshire may be thus divided :—

1. The survey of the city of York.
2. A list of the tenants in capite.
3. The particular specification of the manors, lands, and rights of each tenant in capite, with, in every case, the name of the possessor in King Edward's time, and that of the grantee's feoffee if subinfeuded.
4. "Claims" and disputed titles, rights, boundaries, &c. This follows after the survey of Lincolnshire, folios 373 and 4.
5. A summary or recapitulation of carucates arranged by locality, in wapentakes, beginning folio 379.

Part 2 is a sort of table of precedence of the tenants in capite ; after the Terra Regis come the Ecclesiastics, then the Earls, but the Barons and others follow without any

apparent arrangement, though those of the same Christian name seem grouped together, and the more important are given first. This list does not correspond in order with the names in the 3rd division, for after No. 17 Goisfrid de la Wirce is omitted by mistake, and Abbas Eboraci is given, though he does not occur as a tenant in capite in the latter ; as he was included in this list, the Abbot of Selby ought to have been also, but he was not. Appended also is the name of Rogerius Pictavensis, because most of his lands had been seized by the King, and his possession of the rest was doubtful, while on 332 b. is added the Fief given to Robert de Bruis after the "Book of Winton" was written, as it says. Of the red numbers before the names of the tenants in the 3rd division, 35 is a clerical error for 25, 36 for 26, and so on to the end, and there is *no* number 14. Correcting this, their order is preserved in the following notes.

Any genealogical or biographical facts the survey itself may contain are incidental only, as it was no part of the design to give such particulars. Such as do occur are here brought together and supplemented by any notices of the same persons to be found in the best contemporary chronicles, as the Anglo-Saxon, those of Florence of Worcester, Ordericus Vitalis and others, with references to their charters in the cartularies of the Monasteries of Normandy, Brittany, and England. Good use has been made of the valuable notes of the late Mr. Thomas Stapleton, who by critical research succeeded in tracking so many of these Norman adventurers to their old homes. "An Introduction to Domesday Book," 2 vols., now very scarce, by Sir Henry Ellis, who superintended an edition of the Survey in facsimile type for the Record Commission, has a most useful set of indices to persons mentioned therein.

That noble monument of the industry of our venerated topographer Roger Dodsworth and his colleague (Sir) William Dugdale, the "Monasticon-Anglicanum," and the "Baronage" of the latter, have supplied most of the information here brought together, but the Monastic Registers, then trusted, have been rejected, except where they bear evidence of their own veracity and accord with history. The errors thus originated have infected most topographical works, and are *still* propagated.

It will be observed that the new sites fixed upon by the

Norman barons for their castles, as Richmond, Pontefract, Tickhill, are *not* mentioned in the Survey, nor can the manors even in which they were erected be identified with certainty, though they were then already existing. Every baron had at least one valuable manor rated as having an increased value since King Edward's time, which, as this was the exception, for depreciation¹ was the rule, may generally be taken to include, if not the "*caput baroniæ*," at least a residence either of the Baron himself or of one of his chief tenants.

So involved and complicated were the boundaries of the great lordships, even before the conquest, with the berwicks and detached districts in their soke, that a map of Yorkshire on a small scale, showing the various properties clearly, is not possible, though an excellent one is given of that part of the county within the Deanery of Doncaster in the 2nd volume of Mr. Hunter's valuable work, "*South Yorkshire*."

I. TENANTS IN CAPITE.

II.² ARCHIEPISCOPUS EBORACENSIS

(*et canonici ac Homines eius*).

This was Thomas canon of Bayeux, the first Norman Archbishop, successor of the venerable Aldred, who died of grief on the Friday (18 Sept. 1069) before the accidental destruction of the minster by fire, and the sacking of York by the Danes. Aldred had crowned the Conqueror in Westminster Abbey on Christmas day 1066. Thomas was not nominated until the Whitsuntide following after the death of his predecessor, so the see was vacant 8 months. At the

¹ It was long before the county recovered from the conquerors' savage devastation, when scarcely a homestead had escaped being burnt or at least plundered, and from the subsequent famine which slew many of those whom the sword had spared.

² No. 1, being "*Terra Regis*," is

omitted here. The lands it comprised were then still ungranted. They were not, with the exception of Knaresborough, intended to be reserved as Crown property, for we find considerable portions were soon after granted to Rob. de Bruis, William de Warrenne, and others.

date of the survey he had been archbishop 15 years, during which time he had greatly improved the condition of his diocese, for when he first reached it everywhere the wretchedness consequent on the conqueror's devastation was at its height, and the light of religion was all but extinguished. He was a resolute and energetic man, and faced the difficulties before him with the Norman love of labour and organisation. Soon the blackened ruins of S. Peter's were restored or rebuilt, and covered in with a new roof, and so great was his expenditure in setting things right that he has been charged with impoverishing the see. Personally rich, he had obtained it as compensation for money lent to William for the expedition to England.

He remodelled the constitution of the secular canons of S. Peter's and of his collegiate churches of Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell, appointing his own nephew Thomas (after archbishop) in 1092 to manage the property of the second as provost. He died at York, Sunday, 18 Nov. 1100. An impression of his seal remains.³

Of the possessions of the archbishop the most valuable was the great lordship of Sherburn⁴ (in Elmet) with the town, 2 churches, and all its berwicks, worth "now," as formerly, 34*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* The chief tenants there were the archbishop's knights, a thane, 2 clerks, and the abbot of Selby. King Eadgar had given 20 mansions and lands there to the see in 963. Around the city of York the archbishop held 15 carucates, which had increased in value from 8*l.* to 10*l.*; but the manors of Patrington, Swine, and Newbold were not worth half what they were in King Edward's time. Patrington was given by King Canute. The manor of Everingham, with its berwicks, was in the tenure of a knight and 2 clerks. If this knight held it as his successors did, his duty was to perform the office of State butler on the day of the archbishop's enthronization.⁵

Lands in Newton (N.R.) had been given to the see by Gamel in King Edward's time, and the manors which Ulf, —Thorold's son,—foreseeing disputes likely to arise between his sons about his property after his death—had vested in

³ *Fasti Eboracenses*, Vol. I.

⁴ So called from being situated on the *shared* or boundary stream, which may have been the limit of the wood of

Elmet mentioned in Bede. The archbishops had a palace here; the church has a massive early Norman nave.

⁵ *South Yorkshire*, Vol. I., p. 82.

the archbishop by laying his horn (still preserved in the vestry) on the altar of the minster, can be identified in the Survey which, in one instance,—Stanegrif, expressly states “given by Ulf to S. Peter.” It was, no doubt, arranged that these lands should be held by his sons, of the see, but the survey does not give the names of the archbishop’s tenants at these places. (Archæologia, vi. 52.)

We now come to the possessions of the archbishop’s canons. Those of S. Peter, his own minster, held lands of him in divers places. The carucate in Beverley, belonging to St. John’s, had always been free of the king’s taxes. Its value with berwicks to the archbishop, in King Edward’s time 24*l.*, “now” only 10*l.*, but to the canons 20*l.*, then as “now.” The 23 berwicks of the canons in St. John in Holderness were unjustly claimed by Drogo de Bevrere, who had nearly all that territory, though the canons have the sealed charters of King Edward and King William. Archbishop Thomas, having the king’s writ for it, granted them the soke of 4 carucates in Risby, bought of Gamel by Archbishop Aldred since the conquest.

His liberty of St. Wilfrid in Ripon, held as one manor by his predecessor, had been devastated, for, though formerly valued at 32*l.*, it was “now” only 7*l.* 10*s.*, and most of its berwicks were still waste. His canons there have 14 oxgangs.

The minster church at Ripon (built by Odo Archbishop of *Canterbury* 934--59) seems to have been at least partly destroyed, and an apsidal choir aisle of Thomas’ (intended) new church still remains incorporated with the later work.⁶ Here was one of the palaces. At Southwell, Notts, he had another, a resting place on his way to and from London. The manor, “20 mansions,” had been given to the see by King Eadwy in 958. The canons of the church here are not mentioned in the Survey. In Lincolnshire the archbishop had 25 manors, and one of them, Lissington, held by Herbert,⁷ his vassal, had been improved in value, and was rated at 7*l.* 10*s.*, formerly 4*l.*

⁶ *Walbran’s Ripon.*

⁷ This was probably Herbert “the chamberlain,” a tenant in capite in Hants holding 2 manors (fo. 48 b.), and another in the same county, of Hugh de Port (as

his son in law, like William de Perci seems probable). William, one of his sons, was treasurer and afterwards Archbishop of York, 1130; ob. 1154, and was canonised.

III. EPISCOPUS DUNELMENSIS

(et Homines eius).

William de St. Carileph, so called because he had been a monk in the ancient Abbey of St. Carilef (S. Calais) in Maine, abbot also of S. Vincent at Mans,⁸ being in great favour with William the Conqueror, was by him, 9 Nov., 1080, nominated to the see of Durham, vacant by the murder of Walchere, 6 months before. He found his diocese in a very distracted condition, owing to the arbitrary conduct of Leobwine, the dean, to whom his predecessor had confided the administration of the affairs of the see, which resulted in the murder of the bishop as well as of himself, in revenge for the death of the thane Liulf. He seems to have succeeded in quieting these disorders by his tact, but he was ambitious and time-serving, for, though made justiciary by Rufus, he deserted him when he thought the rebellion to place duke Robert on the throne would be successful. He was, however, mistaken, dispossessed of his temporalities (Howdenshire being given to earl Odo, and Welton to earl Alan), and after defending himself with great vigour at the court at Salisbury, 2 Nov., 1088, against the king and primate in a stormy meeting, of which a most graphic description remains⁹ he was, after a vexatious detention, at length, under the terms of an agreement, allowed to embark for Normandy, where he was honourably received by duke Robert. The castle of Durham had been taken possession of for the king on 14 Nov. The bishop remained abroad until 1091, when, having regained the king's favour, he was restored to his see, which Rufus had kept vacant in the interim in order that he might enjoy its temporalities. He replaced the secular canons at Durham by a colony of Benedictines, and, from designs he brought back with him from Normandy, began the noble and enduring Norman church, still standing. He did not live to finish it, dying at the king's court at Windsor, Wednesday, 2 January, 1096. He was buried at Durham.

Of the lands held by the bishop in Yorkshire at the date of the survey, Crayke, in the forest of Galtres, had been given

⁸ *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XIV., 457.⁹ *Monasticon*, I., 244; Church His-

torians of England, III., 731.

to St. Cuthbert himself by Egfrid, king of Northumberland, in 685, with territory 3 miles in circuit,¹⁰ that he and his successors might have a resting-place passing to and from York. The bishops had a park and castle here on the hill in the midst of the plain. Two hides here were given by an earl Thored (? the one mentioned "Anglo-Sax. Chron.," a° 992) to "St. Cuthbert's Stow."¹¹

Howdenshire had belonged to the rich and famous Abbey of St. Peter of Burgh, or Medes-hamstead (Peterboro'), but in consequence of the heavy tribute exacted by the Danes, it was wrested from it during the 3 years abbot Ebsi was in Normandy with queen Emma, 1013-5.¹² After belonging to king Edward, William, as his successor, gave it to bishop William, who transferred it to the monks of his church. The bishops had a hall here, and the church was made collegiate in the reign of Henry III.

We find William de Perci among the bishop's vassals in the East Riding.

No less than 40 manors in Lincolnshire had been given by the conqueror to bishop Walchere, and lands in Covenham, held by the abbey of "St. Karilef" (340 b.), had no doubt been given by bishop William.

A very perfect impression of his seal is engraved in Surtees' Hist. of Co. Durham, vol. 1, plate 1, fig. 1.

IV. ABBAS EBORACI.

This is abbot Stephen of Whitby, so called. At the time of the survey (1085) he was residing at York, having been driven away with his monks both from Whitby and Lastingham, either by William de Percy (q. v.) or by pirates and robbers, or more correctly perhaps by all, but retaining his right to the lands bestowed upon him. The interesting account he has left of himself up to this date will be found abstracted in the article "William de Perci," with whom he was so much concerned. The abbot was probably at this very time engaged in his scheme for a Benedictine abbey at

¹⁰ Dugdale's Monast. I., 234, and Simeon of Durham.

¹¹ *Liber Vitæ*, Surtees Soc., 56.

¹² Hug. Candidi, Hist.; see *Monast. I.*, 349.

York, but had not as yet obtained the patronage of Earl Alan, who 3 years after gave him the church of St. Olave, wherein Earl Siward was buried, and land outside the walls for the site. These gifts, with royal favour and his own exertions, eventuated in the famous abbey of S. Mary. He does not seem to have been aided by the archbishop, who claimed the 4 acres of the site, and persisted in his suit even after the church was built. He lost his patron, Earl Alan, in 1089, but not before he had further given the abbot a site without the walls, called Earlsborough, and had resigned the patronage of the foundation to the king, so that the abbey might have greater privileges. The buildings being planned were now proceeded with, but being seen by Rufus while at York, he proposed that they should be projected on a grander scale, and himself opened the ground. The Norman barons and landowners were now most liberal in their donations, but the archbishop, not having received land promised by the king in exchange for the 4 acres, and growing envious of the rapidly increasing prosperity of the house, renewed his claim, and Rufus in council at Gloucester assigned him in lieu thereof St. Stephen's church, and moreover the abbot added of his own free will one carucate in Clifton and another in Heslington to pacify the prelate. In 1097, Stephen was commissioned by Rufus to take abbot Benedict of Selby (q. v.). For 24 years the real founder ruled the house, and died in 1112.

The "abbot at York" is recorded as still holding Priestby and Sowerby ("waste") in the soke of Whitby of his determined enemy William de Perci, he of earl Hugh. So he was still considered to be abbot of Whitby. This he must have soon after resigned to "prior" Serlo, his successor there. But the lands conferred on him by Berengar de Toden, in Lastingham, the 2 Kirkbys, Spanton and Dalby, and held by him at the time of the survey (fo. 314), were reserved to form part of the endowment of S. Mary's.

The abbot nowhere occurs as a tenant in capite in the survey *proper*, though his name is placed 4th in the Index List, but in the "Summary of Carucates," which is evidently a subsequent abstract of the returns, we find him recorded as holding of the king in Dic Wapentake, 2 car. in Lastingham, 2 in Apelton; and in Maneshow Wap. 2 in Apelton and 3 in Normanby [fo. 380, b.).

[ABBAS DE SALEBI, 302 b.¹³]

Though his name is not in the list, he had as much right to be included as the abbot at York, perhaps more, and ought to have preceded him, being the head of the only abbey *then* existing in Yorkshire, and one, moreover, of royal foundation. His name was Benedict; he had been a monk of Auxerre, and pretended to have been directed to this spot in a vision by S. Germanus, a relic (a finger) of whom he carried about with him. This was in 1069, and very shortly after he had the good fortune to attract a passer-by on the river, Hugh Fitz Baldric, the sheriff (q. v.), who not only helped him himself and induced others to do so, but also obtained him the patronage of the Conqueror, by whom that portion of the royal manor on which he had settled was granted. A wooden church, and conventual buildings for the monks who soon congregated, served for them until the time of Hugh de Laci, the 2nd abbot, when the massive Norman church still remaining was commenced.

The lands which the Conqueror himself, considered the founder, gave to the abbey in Snaith, Rodcliff, Brayton, and fishery at Whitgift (Monas. iii., 499), not being mentioned in the Survey, must have been either not yet then conferred or else omitted in error. Of these the abbot would have been tenant in capite. All that we find the abbot holding in Yorkshire are the 7 carucates in Sherburn of the archbishop, who had given them.

In 2 other counties he occurs. Lands at Stanford in Northants, which belonged to Wido di Reincurt, "abbot Benedict bought of him" (226 b.), though according to Wido's charter and the Conqueror's confirmation he *gave* them. The abbot of "Salebi" has 2 houses in the town of Northampton (219 b.).

In Lincolnshire (fo. 370), at Crowle, in the isle of Axholme, "a certain abbot of St. German of Salebi" has under Geoffrey (de la Wirce) one carucate in demesne, and 7 others, fisheries and 30 acres of meadow. This can hardly be the hundred (or soke) of Crull, which Geoffrey by his charter

¹³ Always so spelt in the Survey and frequently so in other early instances.

gave subsequently to the survey,¹⁴ absorbing his former donation.

The lands given by Gilbert Tyson are not recorded as in the possession of the abbey at the time of the survey, though his charter pretends to be witnessed by archbishop Aldred, who died 11 Sept., 1069.

Two of the monks having stolen silver out of the treasury of the church escaped to Northamptonshire, but were pursued and overtaken by the abbot, and treated so inhumanly by him that the matter was brought before the king (Rufus), who ordered him into the custody of abbot Stephen of York, during royal pleasure. Stephen met him in a field called Segewald, and he not only refused to submit but dared any one to lay hands on him, and took up his staff. Stephen would not resort to violence, so he returned to his abbey, but he resigned it in consequence in 1097, and went to Rochester, where he lived some years in retirement.¹⁵

One is loath to give up the tradition that Henry I. was born at Selby, but it is very improbable, for his birth preceded the settlement of the monk with his miracle-working relic, otherwise we might have attributed a visit of the king and queen to this. By the best authorities Henry was born soon after the queen's coronation, Whit-Sunday, 1067. Neither the Conqueror's charter nor the *Historia Selbiensis* mentions the event.

In these unsettled times, when not on a military expedition, the royal progress would probably be by boat between York and Torksey by the Trent and Ouse, the route of the king's commissioners (fo. 337), the only fact which makes the tradition at all likely.

V. HUGO COMES.¹⁶

Hugh was the only son of Richard 'Goz,' viscount (=sheriff) of the Avranchin in Normandy, by Emma (or Emmeline) daughter of Herlwine de Conteville, by Herleva, mother of the Conqueror, who was therefore his half-blood

¹⁴ Monast. iii. 499, Lans. MS. 207, c.

¹⁵ Labbe, Nova Bibliotheca MSS. librorum. Vol. I. *Historia M. Selebiensis*, v., c. XXII., iii. and iv.; see also Mor-

rell's Hist. of Selby.

¹⁶ See accounts of him in first volume of Ormerod's History of Cheshire.

uncle as well as his kinsman on the paternal side (v. Pedigree, D'Anisy's *Recherches sur le Domesday*, p. 249).

He does not appear to have been at the battle of Hastings,¹⁷ and the Whitby Abbey Reg. (New Monasticon, I. 409) is probably correct in stating that he came over the year after with William de Percy (q. v.), bringing with him, among others, his cousin Robert de Tilleol, who had been in England before, in King Edward's service, and was afterwards the commander of his troops. They either came with the Conqueror when he returned from the duchy, or had been sent for by him when he found what he had to do in completing the subjugation of the kingdom, and were no doubt actively employed in this, and engaged in the northern campaign. Though Hugh had been recompensed already by grants in the south, it was in 1070, when Gherbod, whom the king, his step-father, had made earl of Chester, was imprisoned by his enemies in Flanders and not likely to return, that the Conqueror made him earl of the same, granting him the entire county, saving only the bishop's lands, "to be held as free by the sword, as the king himself holds England by his crown." A county with palatine rights was thus created, and we find in the survey the tenants in capite entered as holding "de comite" instead of "de rege." The king showed his wisdom in placing at Chester so trusty a person, so active, daring, and expert a soldier, then in the prime of life, and able to keep the restive Welsh at bay. But with the king's permission he did more, for he increased his territories at their expense, and built the castles of Rhudlan and Diganwy (on the Conway) to secure them. The Welsh called him 'Vras,' or the fat, to distinguish him seemingly from another earl Hugh (of Shrewsbury 'Goch,' or the red), both of whom they had good cause to remember, for in concert these two earls ravaged with great barbarity the isle of Anglesea. By the Normans he was named 'Lupus,' and M. D'Anisy believes this was because he bore a wolf or wolf's head on his banner: the latter was certainly attributed to him by the heralds long afterwards.

He had lands and manors in no less than 16 other counties,¹⁸ but there is little to record of him in connection with York-

¹⁷ According to Wace "*Richard d'Avreincin* was at the battle: this was the father, who was still surviving 1084. (D'Anisy).

¹⁸ In Lincolnshire he had 7 manors that had been "earl" (king) Harold's; Granham a very valuable one. (West) Halton was held of him by William fitz

shire, wherein he obtained 7 manors on the sea coast, remote from his other possessions. These were the 4 manors of Whitby, with the berwick of Sneton, and soke in 11 places, formerly held by earl Siward as one lordship and worth 112*l.* 'now' only 60*s.*, and held under earl Hugh by William de Perci. The 11 places were all waste, but the abbot of York has Priestby and Sowerby of William. Earl Siward's manor of Lofthouse formerly valued at 48*l.* "now nothing;" as with 12 places in the soke all waste, but in Easington there 'is' a solitary villane with a plough, but a church without a priest. Acklam, another of earl Siward's manors, formerly with the berwick in Ingleby and soke worth 46*l.*, not now as many shillings:—40. Hugh fitz Norman was the earl's tenant here and at Flamboro' (24*l.* now but 10*s.*), which had belonged to 'earl Harold,' as the survey always styles the *king*, whose manor of Catton (28*l.* now 100*s.*), William (de Perci) also holds of earl Hugh. How desolate must have been especially this part of the county at the date of the survey, after the Conqueror's savage devastation in 1069, and the plundering inroads of the north sea rovers, still continued where there was anything left worth carrying off. It seems the earl had not only obtained a grant of these manors by 1074, but William de Perci was already his tenant at Sneton at least, for the monk Reinfrid is said to have visited him there in that year (v. William de Perci). This Reinfrid a Benedictine, making an effort to re-establish Whitby abbey, and having permission from William de Perci (q. v.), obtained from earl Hugh, as superior lord of the fief, the church of St. Peter 'with all appertaining to it,' meaning no doubt the ruined conventual buildings and the precincts, and he gave also Flamburgh church with all its tithes. His charter (Mon. i. 412) is directed to archbishop Thomas, William de Perci, and H(ugh fitz Baldric) the sheriff, as well as to his own bailiffs and officers, and was probably made at York, being witnessed by earl Alan, R. Paynell, Eschetill de Bulmer, Robert de Bruis, &c.: and as Reinfrid is styled 'prior,' the date is between 1074 and 1078.

The earl at the time of the survey was claiming (fo. 373) of his tenant William de Perci one carucate in Filling, say-

Nigel, who had also of the earl another place of this name in Cheshire, where he built a castle. He was the earl's con-

stable, an office which the second Lacys inherited from him by descent.

ing it belonged to Whitby, but he has no proof. In York (fo. 298) it is stated William de Perci has of earl Hugh the houses of the two sheriffs of earl Harold, but the burgesses say one of these had not been the earl's, but the other had been forfeited to him. William also has of the earl, S. Cuthbert's church and 7 small houses, altogether in width (only) 55 feet. The Register of Whitby abbey (Mon. I. 409) asserts that the earl gave the manors William de Perci held, to him as freely as he himself had them by the king's gift. If so it must have been subsequent to the date of the survey and the earl's connection with this county would then cease.

He is frequently mentioned by Ordericus Vitelis, who has twice drawn his character, though not in very favourable terms. He describes him as not merely liberal but prodigal; not satisfied with his personal retainers, he kept an army on foot. Like his generosity his rapacity was unbounded, and being fond of sports, he encouraged those who attended him in hawking and hunting, more than clerks or those who farmed his lands. Though a brave soldier he indulged in gluttony, and became so stout he could scarcely walk (iv. 7 and vi. 2). He witnessed the king's charter to the monks of Evroult, made at Winchester in 1081, by which his own gifts and those of his tenants were ratified, and Robert, a son of his, was at the same time dedicated to be a monk there (ib. vi. 5). He was among those who engaged to attend Odo bishop of Bayeux, when he took measures for succeeding Hildebrand in the papacy in the same year (ib. vii. 8). Although he was one of the chief of those on whom Rufus could rely, in 1091 we find him an adherent of Henry in Normandy, but doubting of the success of his cause in the midst of the war he deserted to Rufus, into whose hands he surrendered his castles (ib. viii. 18), and in 1097 had a command under Robert de Belesme in the king's forces, which made an eruption into the French Vexin (ib. x. 5). The next year with the earl of Shrewsbury he recovered Anglesey from the Welsh as before mentioned (ib. x. 7). He restored the abbey of St. Werburgh in Chester, and by the advice of Anselm, abbot of Bec, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who had been his confessor and had come to Chester at his entreaty, during an illness in 1093, he replaced the secular canons there by Benedictine monks. He gave the manor of Atherston in Warwickshire, with other lands,

to Bec abbey, and restored, in 1085, the abbey of St. Sever in the diocese of Coutances. He did at least give some encouragement to clerks, for Gerald from Avranches, who served in his chapel, was said to have been 'a man eminent for his learning and piety' (ib. vi. 2).

The earl took to his bed after a long illness, was removed into S. Werburgh's abbey, where he assumed the cowl, and died 3 days after, on 27 July 1101, having been earl 31 years. He was first buried in the cemetery of the abbey, but afterwards removed by his nephew Rannulph the 3rd earl into the chapter house.

By Ermentrude his wife, who survived him and was living May 1106, a daughter of Hugh count of Clermont, he left an 'only' (ib. x. 18) child¹⁹ then 7 years old. *Richard*, his successor, who grew up a handsome young man and beloved by all, married the king's niece Matilda daughter of Stephen count of Blois. With her 19 years after, accompanying the king's son and heir and many of high rank about the court, chiefly young, he perished in the wreck of the *Blanche Nef* off Barfleur, returning to England on S. Catherine's eve (24 Nov.) 1120 (ib. xii. 26). Dying without issue, and having it seems no legitimate brothers or sisters, at least, surviving, the earldom and estates passed to the eldest²⁰ son of his aunt Matilda, by Rannulph de Briquessart, vicomte of the Bessin. This was Rannulph 'Meschin' who married Lucy daughter of Ivo Taillebois, widow of Roger de Roumare, a lady descended from the old earls of Mercia, as shown in the article on 'Robert Malet,' and from this match the later earls derived.

VI. COMES MORITONIENSIS.

Robert count of mortain, in the diocese of Avranches, and Odo, bishop of Bayeux, were sons of the Conqueror's

¹⁹ The earl had many natural children, and is generally accorded 3 other legitimate sons, besides a daughter Geva, wife of Geoffrey Ridel. The sons were Robert, a monk of Bec, afterwards Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, Othor or Othowell, tutor to one of the king's sons, and Philip. Geoffrey Ridel and Othowell were drowned with the earl, when the family must have become extinct, or the

earldom would hardly have passed to the grantee's nephew.

²⁰ William the second son, earl of Cambridge, acquired Skipton, Harewood, &c., in Yorkshire, by marrying Cecilia, only child and heiress of Robert de Romilly. She left two daughters and co-heirs. See Pedigree of the Lords of Harewood, Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmete*.

mother Herleva, by her husband Herlwine de Conteville, and, therefore, some years younger than William who was born 1028. It is recorded that when William became duke of Normandy he seized every opportunity to exalt the humble relatives of his mother, at the expense of his proud paternal kinsmen, who looked upon him as a bastard. Robert he made count of Mortain when count William 'Warling' went into exile. When the invasion of England was projected, Robert greatly promoted the expedition, was at the battle of Hastings at the duke's side, but does not seem to have taken any distinguished part in it. In the Bayeux Tapestry we see him sitting on the left, Odo, on the right of the duke, at the feast soon after landing; afterwards the three hold council together sitting as before (their names over them) and it seems to be he who is next represented directing an entrenchment ('castellum') to be dug at Hastings. In the second instance he is very graphically portrayed. A pretended charter of his has preserved the tradition that he had the (consecrated) banner of S. Michael from the monastery of the Mount in Normandy, borne before him in the battle (Monasticon vi. 989). He obtained a greater share of the territorial spoil than any one, for in all the southern and eastern counties except Kent, which was mostly granted to bishop Odo his brother, with the rights and title of earl, immense possessions were assigned him; and the *whole* county of Cornwall, of which he was made official earl, was given to him, except church lands and 2 manors. He acquired many scattered lordships in various parts of Yorkshire, but Mr. Hunter remarks (S. Yorks. I. 8): "I do not find either earl (father or son) exercising any act of ownership over that large portion of his honour, which lay in the county of York, and indeed it is evident from Domesday Book that the first earl before the date of the survey had placed under him 2 persons who held, by what rent or service is not known, his whole Yorkshire lands. These were Richard de Sourdeval and Nigel (Fossard)."

These manors were probably his last acquisition. His first had been those in Sussex, which included Pevensey, where with the duke and the army he had first set foot in England. Pevensey was probably given him directly after the battle, and he repaired the ancient stronghold there of Roman origin. Twenty-two years after he and Odo were

again there, surrendered themselves to the mercy of their nephew Rufus, were banished, and perhaps he sailed away for the last time, a broken man, from the very spot where he had landed.

There is very little to record of Robert, count and earl, in spite of his high rank : he does not seem to have been much trusted by William, as he was a man of no decided character.

He was, however, in 1069 left by the king in Lindsey, with Robert, count of Eu, with a force to restrain the incursions of the Danes, on whom they fell unexpectedly, pursuing them to their ships. (Orderic V. iv. v.)

Though attributed to him (Monasticon, IV. 989), it was rather his son who gave S. Michael on the Mount in Cornwall to the one in Normandy, for he was not over friendly to monks, having, at least in Cornwall, constant quarrels with them about their lands. He it was, no doubt, who first erected a castle on the rock at Dunheved (now Launceston, fo. 121), as his chief seat in his county, though he had another at Trematon with a market (fo. 122). About one he built in Somersetshire the Survey is explicit :—"The earl himself holds in demesne Bishopston, and there is his castle called Montagud" (fo. 93), now Montacute near Yeovil, where the sharp hill he first called Mont-aigu on which it stood is a most striking object.

In 1088, being opposed to the separation of the duchy, where he still held the county of Mortain, from the kingdom which he had helped to conquer, he and his brother bishop Odo were the chief of those who conspired to depose William Rufus and give duke Robert the crown. The brothers were besieged in Pevensey castle by the king, but capitulated after a siege of 6 weeks, were banished and their vast domains forfeited (Anglo-Saxon Chron.). The obituary of Grestain abbey, founded by his father, and which he himself had endowed with lands in England, says, he died in 1090 and was there buried.

As Matilda his wife was daughter of earl Roger de Montgomery, the Yorkshire tenant Roger de Poictevin would be his brother-in-law. Almodis, another wife, is mentioned in his charter giving lands to S. Alban's abbey. (Monast. ii. 220.) By Matilda he left, with 3 daughters (married to Andrew de Vitré, Guy de Laval, and Emma, to W^m count of Thou-louse), an only son William, 2nd earl of Cornwall and count

of Mortain, to whom his father's lands or most of them were restored ; but in the next reign, adhering to duke Robert like his father, and being besieged in his castle of Tinchebrai by Henry I., he was taken prisoner in the battle under the walls (28 Sept. 1106) and confined in the tower of London for the rest of his life. It was probably now that his estates being finally escheated, his chief tenants became tenants in capite, those at least who were not actively in rebellion with him. His castles and desmesne lands were bestowed by Henry I. on his supporters, but he retained the earldom.

Arms. The Heralds, on what authority does not appear, assigned Ermine, a chief indented gules, to earl Robert and his son (see Heylin's *Help*), but this is a peculiarly characteristic Breton coat. (See note to W. de Perci.)

VII. ALANUS COMES.

From there having been at this time three Alans in Brittany with the title of count so much confusion has arisen concerning the grantee of Richmondshire, that everything must be rejected which is at all uncertain. The Alan before us was however without doubt one—probably the second—of the “many sons” of Eudo count of Penthievre in Brittany—born 999, died at St Brieux 7 id Jan. 1079. (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, xiii. 245) whose only *known* wife was Innoquent,²¹ daughter of Alan ‘Cagnart,’ count of Cornouaille, (the Cornwall in Brittany)—for he named ‘count Eudo’ as his father in his Swavesey charter, a memorandum of which is preserved²² (*Mon.* vi. 1001). He is also described by abbot Stephen as “sprung from a noble family of Brittany, and son of Eudo a noble count” (*Ib.* iii. 545). About his mother there is less certainty. The Conqueror in his pretended charter is made to call him ‘my nephew’ (*nepos*), and he might have been son of an unrecorded sister or half-

²¹ This seems to be the same name as Imogen with which Shakespere has made us familiar. Ignoge, the wife of the fabulous Brutus of Geoffrey of Monmouth is Innogen in Hollinshed's *Chron.*, but *Imogen* in the index. This work was the source of our dramatist's historical know-

ledge. It was not an uncommon name in Brittany.

²² The church of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, with its tithes, he gave to the abbey of St. Sergius at Angers. Some monks were sent here, and a cell or priory established.

sister, or stood in the same degree of relationship to queen Matilda, as it was "by her help" he acquired the honor, as he himself it seems related in the charter above mentioned, in which it is remarkable he does *not* mention his mother at all. He, it is certain, on historical grounds, was not the Alan, count of Brittany, who married the Conqueror's daughter Constance, as in Dugdale's *Baronage*, Gale's *Honor of Richmond*, and many other works, nor was M. D'Anisy justified in supposing that 'Alanus comes' of the survey referred to 3 distinct persons in the different entries (*Recherches sur "le Domesday"*). By the survey we find him in possession of, besides what he held in this county, no less than 101 manors in Lincolnshire, 81 in Norfolk, 63 in Cambridgeshire (formerly of the dower of queen Edith), 12 in Herts, 7 in Notts, 2 in Hants, one each in Dorset²³ and Northants; and, as he must, even at this date, have been still a young man (for Stephen, his brother, lived until 1137); the reason of his having been so amply rewarded is not apparent, unless it had been under some compact with the ruling count of Brittany, his cousin, or count Eudo, his father, as compensation for the services they rendered to the Conqueror, aiding him with a contingent, said to have been a third of the invading army. Otherwise the Bretons do not seem to have obtained a fair share of the spoil if they had it in lands. It is not unlikely he was looked upon as the chief and responsible head of the Bretons established in England.

He probably obtained the lands above enumerated before he got a footing in Yorkshire. The illuminated title page of the 15th century, *Registrum Honoris de Richmund* (Cotton. MS. Faust. B. vii., printed by Gale) represents the Conqueror delivering the charter to earl Alan, conferring on him (for this is written on it) 'all the vills and lands in Yorkshire which had been earl Edwyn's, as freely and honourably as he held them,' &c., dated at the siege of York, *i.e.* 1069. This pretended charter has been often printed, but is of no authority, for it is not at all probable *all* earl Edwyn's lands in Yorkshire had ever been given to Alan. At the time of the survey, considerable portions of them were in the possession of Ilbert de Laci, Roger de Busli, nor is the date a

²³ Dewlish, probably given him by the Queen as one of the manors formerly belonging to Brictric (v. Busli).

likely one, for earl Edwin was then still a sort of honourable hostage at the king's court, and his lands, we may suspect, though in the king's hands, were hardly yet forfeited as they would be in 1071, when, despairing of his liberty, he escaped from court with his brother Morkar, and wandering in the woods, was soon after killed treacherously by his own people. (Anglo-Sax. Chron.). This is a more probable date for the grant to earl Alan of Edwin's great lordships of Gilling, Catterick, and Askham. Gilling with 9 berwicks and soke in 20 hamlets, and Catterick with 3 berwicks worth 8*l.* 'now' as formerly, and many other manors of less value in the neighbourhood, formed together what was subsequently called Richmondshire, from 'Richmond,' the name he gave to the castle²⁴ he founded on a new and noble site in some outlying district of Gilling, which thus became the 'caput honoris,' and a town soon sprung up beside it. The earl also obtained the manor of Foston, and in the neighbourhood of York, the manors of Fulford, Clifton, one in Acaster and earl Edwyn's lordship of Askham. In the summary (fo. 381) it is stated he had within his 'castellate' 200 manors wanting one; of these, 133 were held by his vassals, 108 were the waste, containing altogether 1153 carucates of land. Without the 'castellary' he had 43 manors, keeping in demesne 39, as only 4 were held by his vassals, most of whom were Bretons, among them Bodin, Bardolf, and Ribald his (natural?) brethren, and his officials, Gwynomar his dapifer, and Odo his chamberlain. Alan and Stephen, his undoubted legitimate brothers, as they one after the other succeeded him, appear to have remained in Brittany until they inherited the honor, unless Stephen was the earl's tenant of that name in Lincolnshire (fo. 348). He allowed a few of the old thanes to retain some portion of their estates under him, as Gospatrick (son of Arkil).

It seems not improbable, that the southern boundary of Northumberland, having been fixed on the Tyne, beyond the patrimony of S. Cuthbert, Alan, being a count, was appointed to act as earl of Yorkshire, wherein he had a greater estate than any one, and, after the archbishop, exercised most influence. This was not a mere dignity as now, but an office similar to that of lord lieutenant. The

²⁴ Such a castle as he would erect here the keep was built by Conan 1166-70 is described in note to libert de Laci: (Reg.)

survey states, "In the royal manors the earl had (or has had) nothing at all, nor the king in the earl's manors . . . in all the lands of S^t Peter of York. S^t John (of Beverley), S^t Wilfred (of Ripon), S^t Cuthbert (of Durham), or Holy Trinity (priory in York), likewise neither the king, nor the earl, nor any one, *had* any custom" (fo. 298 b.). Unless from the use of 'habuit,' this refers to earl Tostig, no other than earl Alan can be meant. Rufus' charter for Serlo prior of Whitby is addressed to the archbishop, the earl Alan, and Ralph Paganel (the sheriff), as if to them officially.²⁵ If Alan did hold this high office he would have the third penny of the pleas of the county, and probably also, the like of the crown dues and rents from the royal city, accounted by his deputy the sheriff (Cf. charter of Empress Maud making Milo of Gloucester earl of Hereford. Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 8).

As earl Alan is not mentioned by the chroniclers the little more we know of him is what abbot Stephen has recorded (Mon. iii. 545), that with his monks having been driven away first from Whitby, then from Lastingham, by the animosity of William de Perci, and the constant attacks of robbers, he was befriended when in this strait by the rich and potent earl Alan, who, having S. Olave's church²⁶ outside the walls of York, promised it him with 4 acres adjoining, that with the king's licence it might be the site of an abbey for them, and a place near to protection, promising also to help them in many ways, and that even the citizens were ready to assist. As Stephen is called in the survey 'Abbas Eboraci,' this probably took place about 1085, hardly before, for neither the church nor the land is mentioned. With the earl's permission Stephen went to the king and obtained his consent the more readily as iniquity abounded in York, and there was more blood shed there than in any other city in England. The earl now fulfilled his promise, but archbishop Thomas was against them and laid claim to the land, obliging the earl to bring the matter before the king in council and show his title to it; but the archbishop, still unconvinced, was only pacified by the king promising him land in lieu thereof.

²⁵ This might, however, be Allan II., for the date of this charter cannot be determined exactly, but before 24 May, 1089, when archbishop Lanfranc, one of

the witnesses, died.

²⁶ At Galmanho, built by earl Siward, who died in 1055, and was therein buried. Anglo-Saxon Chron.

Now at last the buildings of St. Mary's Abbey were proceeded with, but when William Rufus, the year after his succession, came to York, he planned them on a nobler scale, earl Alan adding, with the king's assent, the burgh (or Earlsborough) without the walls of York, and moreover resigning to his sovereign the patronage of the abbey, that it might be endowed with such royal privileges as the canons of St. Peter or those of Beverley enjoyed, or as any other church in England still more free "after my father and me, the earl to be considered the founder." "In a few days these (no doubt the above) matters being completely settled, our friend earl Alan died." So wrote the abbot, referring, it would appear, to the king's charter, attested by earl Alan and Milo Crispin, and dated at Lanercost (in Cumberland) 1 January . . . (?1089), Mon. iii. 546. This instrument confirms to the abbey other gifts of earl Alan, viz. :—9 and half carucates in Clifton near the abbey, the vill of Sutton in Hoiland, the church of St. Botolph (Boston), one carucate (in Skyrbeck, also the chapel in the castle, *i.e.* of Richmond, by Henry II.'s charter, *ib.* 548), and site of mill in Lincolnshire; also the churches of Gilling and Catterick, and the tithes of the desmesnes of his castellary (of Richmond). From Stephen's words we may conclude that the earl died before the end of January 1089, and at or in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmunds, for in the famous abbey church there it seems he was buried before the altar of St. Nicholas, unless this refer to Alan II. (Mon. i. 294). In the autumn preceding earl Alan and Roger the Poictevin count had pledged themselves to conduct the contumacious bishop of Durham safely to and from the court, that he might have an opportunity of justifying himself to the king. This took place at Salisbury on 2 Nov., when it was decided they were absolved of their oath and the bishop was exiled. (Mon. i. 246). The bishop's manor of Welton had been given to the earl by the king, but he subsequently restored it. (*ib.*)

The earl died either issueless or unmarried, and it seems, but there is no contemporary evidence, was succeeded in his title and estates by a brother of his own name²⁷—an unusual

²⁷ The two Alans have never been found witnessing together a charter, and the earliest evidence of there having been two is the charter of Conan, duke of Brittany, to St. Mary's abbey (Mon. iii.,

550), wherein he mentions count Alan, his father, count Stephen, his grandfather, counts Alan Rufus and Alan Niger, his father's uncles. Henry II.'s charter of confirmation to that abbey (*ib.* 548) first

circumstance, though there are a few authenticated examples—surnamed ‘Niger,’ as he had been ‘Rufus,’ but he also was dead, s.p. 1093, for then Stephen, a younger brother, not only inherited the honor of Richmond, but succeeded as count of Penthievre in Brittany Geoffrey ‘Boterel,’ his eldest brother, killed at Dol on 24 August. This seems to prove that the original grant had been to Alan and his heirs, unless Alan II. and Stephen acquired their rights anew by a heavy fine, amounting almost to purchase, which is the more probable as both happened in the reign of such a king as Rufus. Stephen was earl of Richmond 44 years, and died very aged in Brittany—ides of April, 1137 (not 1144 as the Genealogy of the Registrum states—fo. 94 b). He was buried in Bigar abbey, which he founded, but his heart brought to S. Mary’s at York, and from him the later earls and dukes and prince Arthur were descended.

Arms.—The plain Ermine coat of the earls of Brittany and Richmond is probably from its simplicity of great antiquity, but there is no example of it, earlier than the 13th century, unless the fleurs-de-lis, on the surcoat and shield of earl Stephen in his seal (engraved in Gale’s Reg. Honoris de Richmund) were really ermine tails and mistaken, being indistinct, by the draughtsman: or it might have been a coat and shield covered with peacock’s feathers as Geoffrey de Chateaubriant (1199) appears in, in his seal (Lobinceau’s hist. de Bretagne, vol. ii., figs. 33, 37, and 38). He was grandson of Count Brian, one of earl Alan’s numerous brethren.

VIII. ROBERTUS DE TODENI.

He was undoubtedly of the famous family which had name from Todeni, Thosney, or Toëny (Todeneium), a vill in the peninsula formed by the winding of the Seine, opposite the well-known Château Gaillard, but he was rather a *junior uncle* than a *younger brother*—as Mr. Stapleton makes him—

distinguishes the gifts of Alan Rufus and Alan Niger. A donation of count Geoffrey Boterell to the abbey of Mar-moutier was said to be confirmed by all

his brothers, viz., Brian, count in Eng-land, Alan ‘Rufus,’ his successor, another Alan ‘Niger,’ who succeeded him. Lobinceau’s *Hist. de Bretagne*, ii. 118.



of Ralph de Toden, lord of that fief at the time of the Conquest, hereditary standard bearer of Normandy, and grantee of a great estate in England (ancestor of the Toenis of Flamstead.) For Ralph's younger brother of this name was the Robert 'de Statford' of the survey (ancestor of the dukes of Buckingham) who occurs as well as Robert de Toden, as a tenant in capite in Lincolnshire.

The history of this family (descended from an uncle of Rolfr Gangr or Rollo) has been investigated by the earl of Crawford and Balcarres (*Lives of the Lindsays and Notes and Queries*, 2nd s. xi. 154.), who, however, omits to mention this Robert. But though there is no direct evidence, there can be little doubt that he was younger son of Randolph (or Ralf) sire de Toeni 1027, and brother of Roger, surnamed the 'Spaniard,' father of Ralph and Robert de Statford. He may have been at the battle of Hastings, being somewhat older than the Conqueror and not less than 70 when he died in 1088. He held only Naburn and Dalton in Yorkshire at the time of the survey, though in divers other counties he had 78 manors. His chief estate, lying together, was on the borders of the counties of Leicester and Lincoln, extending far into both, and in the midst of this he fixed upon a commanding site, which he called 'Belvoir,' where he built a castle for his residence, and near it, afterwards, founded a priory as a cell to St. Alban's abbey (*Monasticon* i. 327 and iii. 284.) The monks were to pray for Earl Robert (of Mortain) king William, himself, and Adela his wife (*Charters in Nichol's Hist. Leicestersh.*). He died 4 Aug. 1088, and was buried in the chapter house of the priory. By Adela, whom he survived, he had

1. William, called 'de Albini,' his son and heir, ancestor in the female line of the duke of Rutland, the present possessor of Belvoir Castle.

2. Berengar de Toden, who follows, and was the tenant of his father's 2 Yorkshire manors, with many others, at the time of the survey.

3. Geoffrey.

4. Robert, and a daughter, wife of Hubert de Rye, a great landowner in Lincolnshire.

IX. BERENGARIUS DE TODENI.

The second son of the preceding, and therefore nephew of Ralph de Töeni, called the 'Spaniard,' because he had married Godehilda, sister of *Berengar* Borell, count of Barcelona (ancestor in the male line of Henry III.'s queen ; v. Betham. table 240).

He was liberally rewarded by the Conqueror in his father's lifetime ; for, by the survey, we find him holding, besides Adlington in Lincolnshire, 2 manors in Oxfordshire, and 3 in Notts, 27 in the North West, and East Ridings of Yorkshire. Of these the most valuable was Buckton (in Bridlington) rated at 4*l.* in king Edward's time, 'now' 8*l.*, although its outlying lands were recorded as then waste. This manor had belonged to Thorbrand, as most of the others had, the rest to a Gamel. Here no doubt was Berengar's chief residence. His lands at Kirkby-Moor-side had increased in value from 3*s.* to 20*s.*, and this may be attributed to the fact of his principal tenant there being 'the abbot of York,' meaning abbot Stephen, who also held lands of him at 'another Kirkby' (*i.e.*, Misperton), Lasingham, Spanton, and Dalby, at the time of the survey. These the monks of S. Mary's Abbey at York continued to possess, and Berengar afterwards added lands in Stakeldon, Lyndeshay and at Binbrook in Lincolnshire (with the church there) to his former gift, before Rufus' charter of confirmation (1088-9? Monasticon, iii. 547), and later still as not mentioned therein, lands in Finmere, Hunkleby, and near Chevermont ; also the tithes of Dalton. (Hen. II.'s charter, *ib.* 549.)

Berengar had 2 houses in York and rented 8 others, 4 of these being in the castle ditch. He held, as under tenant, several of his father's manors in Lincolnshire, as well as Naburn and Dalton, all he had in Yorkshire. He had the manor of Barnulfswick, "but it is 'now' included in the castellany of Roger" (of Poictou) fo. 332.

Berengar, 'de Todeneio' and *Albreda* his wife gave the church of Thorpe and the tithes of 'Sederynketon' (Settlington?) to S. Alban's abbey (Monasticon, ii. 220.)

He evidently died without issue, but when, is not recorded. Some of his lands were afterwards in the hands of Robert de l'Isle, but those he held of his father reverted to the descendants of his brother William.

X. ILBERT DE LACI.

That Ilbert derived his name from that Lassi (there are others in Normandy) between Aulnai and Vire belonging to the see of Bayeux seems certain, for in 1146 this fief was still held by two of this family (Ilbert and Gilbert de Laci) when it was confirmed to the bishops by Robert fitz Roy, earl of Gloucester (Rot. Norm. 2, lxx). Ilbert himself was without doubt a younger son, but occurs as heir of his mother, Emma, very probably a daughter of Ilbert, the marshal who witnessed with William, 'count of the Normans,' a charter of Isembert, abbot of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity of the Mount²⁸ at Rouen between 1038--50 (Coll. des Cartulaires de France, iii. no. 2), and Enguerrand fitz Ilbert²⁹ was rather *her* young brother than Ilbert de Laci's son, as M. le Prevost, the learned editor of Ordericus Vitalis, first suggested. In 1080 this Enguerrand gave part of the tithes of Bois l'Eveque near Darnetal to this monastery (ib. no. 89), and we learn from the same cartulary (no. 77) that Hilbert de Laci and Emma his mother were owners of Bois l'Eveque, and that the latter gave 22 acres there to the abbey, when she took the veil (before 1069) at St. Amand, Rouen; and she was probably the abbess Emma of that house who occurs soon after. The name of Ilbert's father has not been preserved, but Walter de Laci, who had an extensive territory given him on the marshes of Wales, was undoubtedly his son and heir, and Ilbert's *half* brother.³⁰ We do not know whether Ilbert was at the battle of Hastings or not, but his services must have been of the most valuable kind to have been repaid by the grant of a great domain, like that which afterwards constituted the honor of Pontefract. It would seem this was given him in 1067, for a charter of his son Robert, giving to Gilbert, the hermit of Nostell, the manor of Nether Sutton, adds, "which his father had of the free

²⁸ Mont S. Catherine, from which there is such a fine prospect over the city of Rouen. It was so named from this abbey, called S. Katherine's after its acquisition of her relics. There are no remains.

²⁹ He must have been a person of rank or an ecclesiastic, for his signature in a

charter precedes that of the count of Mortain. In 1105 he was governor of Caen, but driven out with his troops by the townfolk.

³⁰ As both Ilbert and Walter named sons Hugh, it was probably after their father.

gift of William duke of Normandy, *the year after he conquered England.*"³¹

There can be little doubt he was the 'Ilbert' who occurs in the survey as mesne-tenant of many of the manors in Lincolnshire, of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, probably already the superior lord of the fief of Lassi, in whose contingent at Hastings he might therefore have fought, with his brother Walter, as vassals of the see.

All that Ilbert acquired, out of Yorkshire, was, in Notts (291) 2 valuable manors in Hickling and 6 others, and, in the far distant town of Wallingford, a single house (56 b). The great domain given him in Yorkshire consisted of 204 manors, of which 101, or very nearly half, were in the wapentake of Skyrack, the others in Staincross, Acbrig, and Morley. Tateshall, the most valuable, worth in king Edward's time 20*l.* 'now' 15*l.*, is supposed to include the town then growing up under the walls of his castle at Pontefract. Of his chief manors, Leeds only had an increased value, Campsall, and the 5 in Smeaton, remained the same, but all others had depreciated, except Stretun, held of him by 'Ralph' (Paganel), 'now' worth 40*s.* formerly 30*s.*

Earl Edwin's great lordships in Kippax, Ledstone and Berwick, with 3 churches and soke in 14 hamlets, rated at 16*l.* in king Edward's time and the same 'now,' was probably not given him until 1071. (See 'Comes Alan.')

Having acquired this wide territory, he soon fixed upon an elevated site convenient to Watling St., the great northern road, and not far (3 miles) from where it crossed the Aire, for his castle,³² and named it Pontfrêt, either from the remains of a broken Roman bridge there, or from a place so called for the same reason in Normandy, where, it has been said, he was born (but it cannot be found). This

³¹ There are two independent abstracts of this charter, one, *Monasticon*, new ed. vi. 89, the other *Hart. MSS.*, 2101, fo. 230, by Randall Holmes from Dodsworth.

³² In like manner William fitz Osbern fixed upon a headland above Chepstow for his castle (mentioned in the survey) commanding the river Wye and the passage of the Roman road over it, taking toll of vessels passing down the river laden with timber. The rude stone hall here built by him yet remains, though the walls have been raised. A bailey

enclosed by a stockade and ditch, with an 'aula lapidea defensabilis,' a chapel, kitchen, and stable, all detached buildings, some of them wooden, and generally also a fort on a 'mote' or mound, constituted the Norman castle such as Ilbert would build. The hall and citadel were after combined and developed into the keep, seemingly by the ingenuity and invention of bishop Gundulf, the architect of the Tower of London, perhaps the earliest example.

name first occurs in Ordericus Vitalis (xi. 1) where he styles his son 'Roger of Pontefract.'

His lands had been twice surveyed before 1085, for, in the 'Claims,' it is stated that the whole of Thorner and lands in Haselwood included within the bounds of the castle (*i.e.* castellany) of Ilbert, by the first measurement, were by the second declared to be without.

There is little to record of Ilbert, as he does not occur in the chronicles, but he seems to have allowed either from policy or better feeling a larger number of the old English possessors to continue to hold their lands, or a portion of them, under him, than was usual with the Norman lords. Subsequent to the date of the survey he subinfeudated Leeds to Ralph Paganel, his neighbour and tenant at Stretun and Thorpe (-Audlin), and probably his brother-in-law, with the condition, no doubt, to build a castle there and maintain it. His heirs continued to hold it long after.

Ilbert survived the Conqueror; and Dugdale (Baronage, i. 98) quoting a charter formerly preserved at Pontefract castle, says, he obtained from William Rufus "a confirmation of those customs belonging to his castle of Pontefract as he had enjoyed in the time of King William his father." He built a chapel, dedicated to S. Clement, within the castle and amply endowed it with lands and tithes, afterwards transferred to the priory there. He gave the manor of Hamilton to Selby abbey, which Robert his son, for the soul of Hugh his brother, confirmed (Mon. iii. 489), and lands at Stretton and at Garforth (with the church there) to S. Mary's abbey, York, before Rufus' charter of 1088-9 (*ib.* iii. 547).)

An *original* charter of his is still preserved in the archives of Winchester College, *with his equestrian seal* in very good condition still attached. By this unique document—first made known by the late Mr. Hudson Turner, and printed in Archæol. Journ! iv. 249—he, with Hadrude his wife, gives the mansion of Tuiscuicz (?=Twiswick in England, but where?) to the before mentioned abbey of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen, for the soul of Hugh his son, whose body rests there; also the tithes of Fraitville. It was signed only by King William, 'Hilbert and Hadrude and therefore gives no better clue to its date than the duration of the king's reign (1066-87).

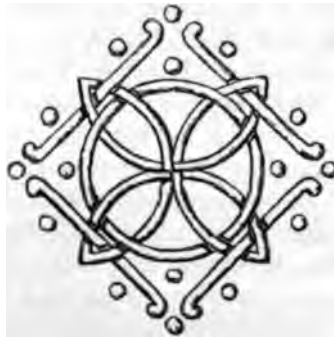
Notum sit omnibus christianis tam viventibus quam futuris quod

ego Hilbertus de Laceio una cum Hadrude uxore meâ do mansionem tuisuic3 Sancté Trinitati de Monte rotomagensi, terram scilicet cum aquâ et pratis et silvis omnibusque ad ipsam mansionem attinentibus pro anima mea atque domini mei Willielmi .regis et animabus parentum et amicorum meorum, nec non et uxoris mee filique mei Hugonis pro eo quod et ipse supradictus filius meus in loco requiescat et dicimam et fraitvilla.

This instrument is not registered in the cartulary of the abbey. It is evident Ilbert had at least two sons named Hugh, and according to the above the name of his wife at that time was Hadrude, but unless '*Hawise*' of the son's deed be a misreading or clerical error, another, so called, was the mother of Robert, his son and heir. No other sons nor any daughter are known, except the second Hugh, for whose soul the donation to Selby abbey had been made, rather on his becoming a monk there than on his death, if he were the abbot elected 1097, who resigned 1123, and who built the noble Norman nave now remaining, and who is extolled in the *Historia Selbiensis*.

We do not know when Ilbert died, but it must have been before 1101, when Ordericus Vitalis (x. xviii.) mentions his son Robert as evidently then in possession of the honor, being one of those who invited duke Robert to make another effort for the throne.

Arms.—Ferne in his quaint book "The Blazon of Gentry," part 2, 'Lacie's Nobilitie,' was wrong in assigning the quarterly, a bend coat to Ilbert, as it came from Eustace fitz John. There is no clue to the arms of the original Lacies but the seal of Roger de Laci the constable (Ormerod's Hist. Cheshire, i. 511) has on the reverse a sort of interlaced device, which has been called by the Heralds 'the Lacy knot,' and not improbably may have been their canting device from '*Lacis*,' meaning net-work in French.



XI. ROGERIUS DE BUSLI.

Had his name from his manor in Normandy, Builly en Brai, near Neufchâtel—not the one is Calvados—the tithes of which he sold to Rainer, abbot (1053–66) of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen, “for 72 pounds of (silver) pennies and a horse” (Cartulaire, no. xliii.) This may have been to furnish him with ready money to defray his expenses in following the duke in his expedition to England.

We know nothing more of him until we find him by the Survey in possession of the great estate granted him by the Conqueror for his services, constituting in aftertimes an honor of 60½ knights’ fees; being, besides lordships in the counties of Derby, Leicester, and Lincoln, a very considerable portion of the north of Nottinghamshire and a wide tract of south Yorkshire thereunto adjoining, including Hallamshire; also the distant manors of Clifford in Gloucestershire, and Sanford in Devon. Earl Edwin’s lordship of Laughton-in-le-Morthen was probably not given him until 1071 (see ‘Comes Alan’) when, although there was a hall here, he had already fixed, it would seem, on a hill called ‘Tickhill’ (not named in the survey) for his castle and the ‘caput’ of his barony; though both often go by the name of ‘Blythe,’ which is unaccountable, as, at that manor, there are no remains or traditions of a castle.

Tickhill was doubtless in one or other of the 2 manors in Dadisley (now lost). These were together rated at 12*l.* but ‘now’ 14*l.* being the only instance of increased value in his lands, which had generally depreciated nearly a third. A populous town seems to have already sprung up by his castle, for the survey mentions 31 burgesses, 3 mills, &c. Hallam, Attercliff, and Sheffield Roger held, it appears, of the countess Judith, widow of earl Waltheof; but, as it is only here and in the Summary she is mentioned, she probably held these manors in dower for her life only.

Tickhill castle was Early Norman work, perhaps Roger’s, with very slight subsequent additions. Hardly anything remains but the gate, with ornamental work over the front arch (see Engraving, Hunter’s S. Yorks., i. 232). A strong buttressed tower, oval in plan, stood on a ‘mote’ or mound,

and a curtain enclosed an oval area or bailey between the tower and the gate opposite (plan Archæologia, vol. vi., plate 31).

Before the date of the Survey, Roger the Poictevin had granted to him and Albert Greslet the whole of Blackburnshire (fo. 270).

Queen Matilda had obtained some of the manors of the English thane Brictric, on whom, the story goes, she was revenged for slighted beauty. One of these, Sanford, she gave, says the Survey (fo. 113), to Roger de Busli, with his wife, apparently also Clifford. Her name was Muriel, and she might have been the daughter of that name of Eudo al Chapel, dapifer of Normandy, by Muriel, the Conqueror's half sister, his wife. If so, she married afterwards Robert de Hay, living 1105, and was mother of Rich^d de Hay, who inherited the hereditary office of dapifer of Normandy (Gallia Christiana, xi., Inst. 245 and 6). Roger de Busli, with Muriel his wife, gave Clifford to Gloucester abbey, before 1086, when it was confirmed by the king's charter (Hist. and Cart. S. Petri, Glou. i., 123, 334). With Muriel, his wife, he founded and endowed a Benedictine priory at Blythe, Notts, as a cell to the before mentioned abbey of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen, by charter, dated 1088. (Reg. of the Priory, Harl. MS., 3759, and printed Dugdale's Mon. and Hist. of Blythe, by Rev. John Raine, vicar).

Roger evidently sided with Rufus, and aided him in 1088, and we last meet with him at Dover, 6 kal. Febr., 1090, attesting the king's charter, 'giving' (rather selling) Bath abbey to the Somerset bishop, John (Mon. Angl. ii. 266).

Roger was dead 1098, leaving a son and heir, Roger, a minor, but Robert de Belesme, count of Alençon and earl of Shrewsbury, laid claim to Blithe with all the land of Roger de "Buthlei" (sic) as his kinsman, and obtained it from William Rufus, though only by giving a large sum of money for it (Ordericus, l. x. c. vii.). So Ordericus, but it is more probable what he bought was, the wardship of the heir, the custody of the honor during his minority, and perhaps the reversion. The earl fortified Tickhill against Henry I., in 1102, but, when the king advanced to besiege the castle, the garrison came out with great joy to meet him (*ib.* xi. iii.); his other castles surrendered or were taken, and he himself,

as well as his brothers Roger de Poictevin and Arnulf, were banished the realm.

Roger de Busli the younger died about this time, s.p. Though the issue of the grantee failed, he had a brother, Arnald de Busli,³³ who witnessed the charter of 1088, but died before his nephew; he founded a branch, seated at Kimberworth, holding $6\frac{1}{2}$ knights' fees of the honor. Robert de Vipont married the heiress Idonea, and, in the beginning of Henry III.'s reign, got possession of the honor after it had long been vested in the crown or its grantees. It was claimed by Alice, countess of Eu, as representing Beatrix, sister of the *first* Roger de Busli and wife of Robert, count of Eu. The matter was tried in the Exchequer, Michaelmas Term, 1220; the countess had judgment in her favour, but terms were afterwards arranged between the parties by a fine (Notes by Dodsworth; see Hunter's South Yorks., i. 228).

Arms.—On the authority of Dodsworth (Bodl. MS., clx., fo. 17), gules, a bezant was the simple coat of the Buslis.

XII. ROBERTUS MALET.

As Robert was not the original grantee of the lands in Yorkshire or elsewhere held by him, but his father, who died before the date of the Survey, some account of the latter will be given first.

WILLIAM MALET.

was the head, at the time of conquest, of a notable family in the pays de Caux, in Normandy, mentioned in this ancient proverb

“ Les Malets et les Marteaux
Sont les plus nobles de Caux.”

(Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. cl. column 612.)

Wace (Roman de Rou) says he was so named for his bravery,

³³ His grandson Richard de Busli was co-founder with Richard fitz Turgis of Roche abbey, having given, in 1147, to the

'monks of the rock,' lands for the site of their church. (*Hist. of the abbey*, by James H. Aveling M.D.)

but it is more probable it was already a settled family name, as Durand Malet³⁴ of the Survey was no doubt his brother. He was at Hastings in the thick of the fight, laying many English low, and himself narrowly escaped, for his shield was pierced and his horse killed; but, rescued and remounted by his friends near, he again joined in the fray (*ib.*). After the battle the Conqueror entrusted the disposal of the body of king Harold to him, as related by blood or marriage, and he had it hurriedly borne away, and saw it buried on the sea-shore. He was with the king when York submitted (1067), and with Robert fitz Richard and Gilbert de Ghent, was left in command of a strong garrison to secure possession of the city. It was probably at this time he was appointed sheriff of Yorkshire, for, in the Survey, are several entries speaking of his lands as having been held by him "before the castle was taken" (fo. 373), "or until the Danes made him prisoner;" so, no doubt, extensive lands were then given him. Following Mr. Freeman's arrangement of these events (Norm. Conq., iv. 204, 241), it was in the autumn of the following year that the English forces under young Edgar, relying upon the sympathy of the citizens, surrounded York, and William Malet the constable sent the king word that he should be compelled to surrender unless help came quickly. The king himself soon arrived, defeated the insurgents, strengthened York with a second fortress, and left it in charge of the trusty William fitz Osbern (Ord. Vitalis, iv. 5). William Malet and Gilbert de Ghent were still in command of York, when it was taken and sacked by the Danes, on Monday, 21 Sept., 1069 (Chron. Flor. Wig.), and it was they doubtless who, a day or two previously, had ordered the houses around the forts to be fired, fearing the besiegers might use the materials to fill up the trenches, but the flames spreading beyond control consumed the minster and the city. The Danes having taken the fortresses, slew the Norman garrison, sparing only 'William Malet, his wife and two children' (*ib.*), Gilbert de Ghent, and a few others as prisoners of war for exchange or ransom. By one means or the other

³⁴ Durand Malet was a tenant in capite in Lincolnshire, holding several manors, among them Irby (upon Humber) Rothwell and Willingore. His descendants continued at Irby for many generations. In 1156 Hugh, son of Ivo Malet, with the

consent of his mother Margaret and of Ralph his son and heir, gave 2 oxgangs in Rothwell to Whitby abbey. (Burton's Mon. Ebor. 75). In Lana. MS. 207 D is Gervase Holles' abstract of the chartulary of this family.

he got his liberty, unless indeed he escaped, but "he died while on the king's service" (fo. 332, b), apparently, from another passage in the Survey (fo. 133, b.), "in the marshes" of Ely, during the beleaguering of Hereward, in 1071, as Mr. Freeman infers (Norm. Conq., iv. 467). Great interest attaches to William Malet, for it was doubtless through him the earls of Chester had their descent from the old earls of Mercia,³⁵ of which they boasted, but it seems they never knew correctly how, nor has any genealogist since entirely explained the mystery. Mr. Stapleton (Top. et Gen., i. 12) first showed that the countess Lucy, and her mother of the same name, wife of Ivo Taillebois, were by the Croyland chronicler confounded, made one, and daughter of the earl Algar; whereas the elder Lucy was, there can be little doubt, from a variety of circumstances, daughter of this William Malet, and had in frank marriage the manor of Aulkborough in Lincolnshire. Here the matter has been left without hope of further elucidation, but there is a passage in the poem on the battle of Hastings, by Guy, bishop of Amiens, *who was there present*, which describes the person commanded to quickly bear away and bury the body of king Harold, as "quidam partim Normannus et Anglus." (Carmen, de Hastingsæ Proelio, in Michel's Chrons. Anglo-Normandes, iii. 27, line 587.) This we know was William Mallet, and we may infer, from this description of him, that his mother was an English woman; and, accepting it, the question may be considered solved, and there can further be no reasonable doubt of her having been a daughter of the earl Leofric³⁶ and the famous Godgiftu, though not mentioned in the pedigrees of their family: William Malet would then be first cousin to Edith, Harold's queen. His wife, who survived him and was holding lands in dower in Suffolk, 1085 (Survey, ii., fo. 304 b., 'Mater Roberti, M.'), was Hesilia, daughter of Gilbert Crispin of Bec-Crispin (*de Genere Crispinorum*, in Giles' Opera

³⁵ It was asserted in the time of Richard II. that Hugh Lupus' mother was Ermenhilda, sister of the earl Leofric; this was reasonably discredited by Dugdale and others. Burton (Desc. of Leicestershire, 1622, p. 168) accounted for the connection with the Malets, by making the earl Algar's wife sister of William Malet. This is not probable, though adopted by Ormerod (Hist. of Cheshire,

i. 47.)

³⁶ But in the Survey (ii. fo. 304 b.) we read in Hamingeston '*Leoric antecessor matris Roberti habuit.*' Antecessor can only be taken to mean predecessor, but here it may be ancestor as well, if referring to the earl Leofric: and ought this not to be corrected to '*Matris Willelmi,*' or *avie Roberti*?

Lanfranci, i. 341.) By her he left issue, *Robert*, his successor; *William* Malet,³⁷ who in his old age was a monk at Bec (*ib.*); *Gilbert* Malet, said to be ancestor of the Malets of Somersetshire (Collinson's Hist. Co., i. 90); *Lucy*, above mentioned, and *Beatrice*, wife of William de Arches,³⁸ who had with her, it seems, the manor of Redingfield in Suffolk, which in her widowhood she gave to Eye priory, for the souls of her parents and of her brothers, Robert and Gilbert. (Mon., iii. 405.)

ROBERT MALET.

Succeeded his father in 1069, and was no doubt then of age, for he first occurs witnessing, with him, a charter of William, 'count of the Normans' (between Sept., 1060, and Feb., 1066) to the abbey of Jumieges (Mr. Gurney's *House of Gourney*, i. 204 n.) The great estate granted to his father, and which he inherited in its entirety, chiefly lay in Suffolk, wherein, at Eye, his father had made his castle as the survey states (ii., fo. 379) and adds, "and on the same day on which there was a market in the bishop's manor (Hoxney), William Malet held another in his castle, and so damaged the former as to be of equal value; the king, being appealed to, came and decided that the latter should be held on Saturday, the other being on Friday." The lands he held in Yorkshire were scattered and of little value. 38 manors in 7 hundreds; the best of them was Game's manor, in Cave, but this, in king Edward's time rated at 12*l.*, 'now' only 100 shillings, and in 6 manors in another (North?) Cave, the greatest part

³⁷ He held lands of his brother in Suffolk; witnessed the foundation charter of Thetford priory c. 1104. (Mon. v. 148); was disinherited by Henry I., keeping Pentecost at Windsor 1110 (M. Paris); gave—if not his father—Conte-ville to Bec abbey, wherein he died a monk. He was probably father or grandfather of Ernest Malet of Gravelle in Normandy, ancestor of a family long seated there (see La Roque's Hist. de la Maison de Harcourt, i. 163.)

³⁸ *Diary of Sir Symonds D'Eves*, Harl. MS. 646, p. 102. For an account of the descendants of Beatrice, see Mr. Stapleton's paper "On the Barony of William de Arques" (*Archæologia*, xxxi. 218), but he did not know who she was. By her Wil-

liam, who died about 1095, left two daughters and co-heirs, Matilda, wife of William de Tancarville, chamberlain of Normandy (*jure uxoris* ?), and Emma, wife, 1, of Nigel de Monville (who occurs in the Survey, fo. 29v, as holding the house of a certain moneyer in York, and, 2, Manasse count of Guisnes, and her granddaughter by him, Beatrice countess of Guisnes, was wife of Alberic de Vere, who seems to have obtained in her right the office of Great Chamberlain of England: an interesting fact here first noted, and though he was divorced from her without issue, yet he retained and transmitted this hereditary office to his descendants by another wife.

was waste. In 'The Claims' a good many disputes are recorded about these lands. William Malet had bought 7 carucates of land in Hutton, of a certain Sprot, for 10 marks of silver (fo. 373), and the crafty Drogo de Bevrere had got possession of the lands of William Malet in Holderness (fo. 374).

Robert Malet founded a priory at Eye near his castle, as a cell to the abbey of Bernai in Normandy, for the souls of the king and queen, his own (no wife mentioned so presumably unmarried,) William, his father's, and Hesilea, his mother's (Mon., iii. 401). There is little more to record of him. We learn from a letter from archbishop Lanfranc to the king (*Epistolæ L.*, Migne, vol. cl., p. 534, no. 35), that after Norwich surrendered (1075), bishop Geoffrey, William de Warenne and Robert Malet, with 300 'loricati,' remained in the castle, doubtless as a garrison for the king. He was great chamberlain to Henry I., but though at one time in great favour with him, took duke Robert's side and was killed at the fatal battle of Tinchebrai, 28 Sept., 1106. The honor of Eye being then escheated, was, with the broad lands of the count of Mortain (taken prisoner), made the appanage of the king's nephew, count Stephen, afterwards king. The office of great chamberlain was given to Alberic de Vere, the husband of his sister's grand-daughter (see note 38); this alone shows that Robert Malet must have been an old man when he died. Subsequently, in 1152, the countess Lucy's son, Rannulph earl of Chester, obtained the honor of Eia, 'as Robert Malet his mother's uncle held it, as well as the fief of Alan of Lincoln, another uncle of his mother. (? Son of Alured de Lincoln by William Malet's widow.)

Arms.—The most ancient arms of the Malets were incontestably 3 buckles, fibulæ or fermails, no doubt allusive—a diminutive of the word would be better *fermailet*, but such has not been found in any French dictionary. There is a fine early seal of Robert de St. John, with 3 buckles of different shape and design, and in the Atlas of D'Anisy's Chartes Anglo-Normandes is an illustration of the equestrian seal of Jean Malet. The Malets of Irby in Lincolnshire descended from Durand (see note 34), bore the 3 buckles 2 and 1 or, in a field gules (so formerly in stained glass in Irby church, *Lans. MS.*, 207, A. p. 195), exactly as the Malets of Graville in Normandy did.

The Malets of Normanton in this county bore, sable, a chevron between three round buckles argent; while those of Derbyshire bore a fess between 3 (or 6) buckles, but the Malets of Somersetshire bore 3 escallops, in mistake perhaps for the buckles, or from some other source.

Mr. Ellis (*Antiquities of Heraldry*, p. 230) suspected the *mullet* in the coat of de Vere might have appertained to the office of chamberlain, and have come from Robert Malet, being his allusive cognizance, but he was not aware of any relationship between them, shown in the note, though this makes it all the more probable.

XIII. WILLELMUS DE WARENE.

Warrenne, Varenne, or Guarenne,³⁹ *was* the name of a river which falls into the sea at Dieppe, but it is now called the Arques, from the famous castle by which it flows (see Osbern de Arcis). On this river, with a church of very early foundation, was a vill bearing its name, but since called Bellencombe, the fief of the first of this family, William's father: —Rudolf de Warrenne, called also "filius Episcopi," because his father, Hugh, had become a churchman and bishop of Coutances (990 ob. 1020). His mother was a niece of the duchess Gunnora, the Conqueror's great grandmother. The bishop's younger son was Roger de Mortemer, or 'filius Episcopi' (see Mortemer⁴⁰). The cartulary of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen furnishes us with the first notices of this family, and corrects the current statement, that the *first cousins*, William de Warrenne and Ralph de Mortemer, "were *sons* of Walter de St. Martin."

³⁹ This is a very interesting river name: there are two so called in France, both in Normandy (the other flows by Domfront), but there are many towns called Varennes (i.e. warrens). It must be the same, however, as the Garonne, and even the Yare in Norfolk which is called by Ptolemy Γάρρυνος ποταμός (Mon. Hist. Brit. xiii.), and this leads one to suggest that our Eure and Aire may have the same origin. The Arun in Sussex and the Arno in Italy preserve the 'n'. There is some analogy

also to the set of river names, Derwent, Darent (Kent), Tarrant (Dorset) and Trent. The word 'torrent' is derived from 'torrens,' and therefore quite distinct.

⁴⁰ Mr. W. S. Ellis (*Hurst, Pierpoint, Its Lords and Families*, p. 3), considers the Pierpoints descended from Godfrey, another brother of Rudolf de Warrenne, filius Episcopi, and Robert their ancestor (who held Hurst of William de Warrenne) his son.

Rudolf was still living, 1066, but more than 76. He was twice married, first to Beatrix and secondly to Emma: the former was the mother of Rudolf (who died s. p.), and our William, who was at the battle of Hastings (Roman de Rou.), probably representing his aged father, and himself at least 40. His services or his influence must have been great, as he obtained an enormous estate, hardly, however, all at once, and Coningsburgh was probably the last given him. By the Survey we find him possessed of lands in no less than 12 counties; in Norfolk alone it appears he had 139 manors; in Sussex a great number, and in Yorkshire the great lordship of Coningsburgh, including within its soke 28 towns and hamlets. Mr. Hunter says (South Yorks., i. 97) "the manors which compose the honour of Coningsburgh do not lie contiguously, and a few only are in the vicinity of the castle (the *caput baroniæ*); most of them are on the south side of the river Don, and Hatfield was mostly reserved in demesne for the pleasures of the chace, though separated from Coningsburgh itself by the lands of Geoffrey Alselin." Though he, no doubt, erected the first stone buildings at Coningsburgh on this ancient site, nothing now remains of them, and the well known keep is of much later date, and is attributed to Hameline, Henry II.'s bastard brother, who married the daughter and heiress of the 3rd earl. His other castles were Lewes in Sussex, Reigate in Surrey, and Castle-acre in Norfolk.

When the King left England in 1073, William de Warenne and Richard fitz Gilbert were appointed chief justiciaries of the kingdom, but they soon had to throw aside the robe and take up the sword to meet the rebellious earls of Hereford and Norfolk. The latter they signally defeated at Fagadun, but followed up their victory by unwarrantable cruelties. William de Warenne had married Gundrada, 'daughter of Queen Matilda,' who gave with her a mansion at Carlton in Cambridgeshire (Chart^r of Lewes priory). She was sister of Gherbod earl of Chester (O. Vitalis, iv. vii.), and as Mr. Stapleton has clearly proved (Archæol. Journal, iii. 1) therefore, daughter of the queen's former husband Gherbod, the advocate of the abbey of S. Bertin. Gundrada is generally called the Conqueror's daughter on the strength of his charter, wherein she is described as "*filix meæ*," but these words look like an interpolation. She did not live to be a

countess (though generally styled so) dying in childbed at Castle Acre, 16 Kal. Junii 1085, and being brought to Lewes priory to be buried. She had been with her husband on a pilgrimage to Rome. They had visited the famous monastery of Cluny on their way, where, being well received, they determined on their return to establish a priory in connection with the church of St. Pancras, in the meadows below Lewes castle, as a cell to that abbey. It was the first house of the Cluniac order in England.⁴¹

William was a benefactor to Boxgrove priory, and began Castle Acre priory.

Subsequently to the Survey, he, it seems, acquired Wakefield and its dependencies, probably after the Conqueror's death, when he aided William Rufus, and no doubt assisted him at the siege of Pevensey castle. After that king's coronation, he was created earl of Surrey (O. Vitalis, viii. ix.), but died shortly after, 8. Kal. Julii 1088, and was buried in the chapter house of Lewes priory near his wife.

His tomb, of *white* marble, is gone, but Ordericus Vitalis (*ib.*—) has preserved the epitaph in leonine verse, hers of *black* marble, sculptured with excellent Norman foliage and inscribed with some good Latin verses, *is* preserved at Southover church, adjoining the site of the priory, having formed part of a monument in Isfield church until discovered in 1775.

In 1845 navvies making a railway cutting right across the site of the priory found two small leaden chests made to contain their disjointed bones, one inscribed **WILLM** the other '**GUNDRADA**' in Lombardic letters of a century later. Dr. Pickford, of Brighton, judged from the bones 'that the height of the earl must have been from six feet one to two inches, and that of Gundrada five feet seven to eight inches.' (Mr. Lower, Journ. Archæol. Assoc., i. 346, and ii. 104.)

They left issue :

1. William, the 2nd earl, ob. 11 May, 1138, married Isabel, daughter of Hugh (jure uxoris) count of Vermandois, brother of Philip I. King of France, widow of Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester and Mellent, who died 1118. She died 13 Feb. 1131.

⁴¹ It was not the *first* but the *2nd* earl who—when a young man, 1091-7,—gave the advowson of Coningsburgh and so many churches in Yorkshire to this priory.

2. Reginald de Warenne, taken prisoner at Dive. Confounded by Watson⁴² with his nephew of the same name. (Coll. Top. et Gen. vii. 380.)

— Gundrada. (Sandford's Gen. Hist. p. 12.)

— Edith, m. 1. Gerard de Gournai; 2. Drogo de Monceaux. Her son was the ancestor of the Gournays (see Mr. Gurney's Records of the House of Gourney) and her daughter Gundrada⁴³ (wife of Nigel de Albini) of the potent house of Mowbray.

— . . . m. Erneis de Colunce, and had issue (O. Vitalis).

Arms.—The simple checky coat of Warenne originated with the match of the 2nd earl with the daughter of the count of Vermandois: the same was borne by Waleran, count of Mellent, her son by her former husband, and, with a fess, by Ralph de Beaugency, who married her sister Matilda.

XIII. WILLELMUS DE PERCI.

This is the founder of the great and historic northern house, and no other Norman name had a greater destiny than this: Nevill and Russell only may compare with it.

He came from Perci in the département of La Manche, a seigneurie owned by the Paynells, whose feudatory there Mr. Stapleton thinks he probably was (Plompton Corr. p. x.) Nothing is known of his paternity, his descent from Manfred, a dane, and the earls of Caux and Poitiers being a fiction of imaginative heralds. If the Register of Whitby abbey may be trusted, he and Hugh (after) earl of Chester, came into England in 1067 with duke William, who certainly returned from Normandy in December with some new comers. Neither were then at Hastings. Like his contemporary Eustace II. "aux Grenons" count of Boulogne, he got the

⁴² The Memoirs of the ancient earls of Warren and Surrey, 2 vols. 4to, by Rev. John Watson, rector of Stockport, the historian of Halifax. This not altogether trustworthy work was intended to prove his patron Sir George Warren, K.B., entitled to the earldom. (See Review Her. and Gen. vii. 193.)

⁴³ Gundrada, wife of Bertram Haget of Healaugh, was probably her daughter. This name, which lingered for a few generations, was known in England before the Conquest. Quendred, a nun, held lands in Lincolnshire in the time of Edward the Confessor. (Fo. 370 b.)

name of 'Alsgernons'; for, in defiance of the fashion of the time to shave the face, he wore his whiskers. He was evidently a young soldier when he came over, probably accompanied the Conqueror in most if not all his campaigns, and must have gained great favour with him to have obtained the immense estate he did. When he got this is not recorded, but we have his own affirmation in the Survey (fo. 374) that he was seized of Bolton, and held it in the time of William Malet, the sheriff (therefore 1069 or before.) He seems to have been with the king in his expedition into Scotland August 1072, and afterwards governor or constable of York, for the burgesses declare that he included Uctred's house within the castle *after he returned from Scotland*. He denies it, and affirms that it was done by Hugh the sheriff, the year after the destruction of the castle, *i.e.*, 1070 (fo. 298.)

By the Survey we find him in possession of over 100 manors in divers parts of Yorkshire, many of them in Craven, others in Cleaveland, the most valuable being Tadcaster (two manors worth 40s. in King Edward's time, 'now' 100s.; Spofforth (20s. 'now' 60s.); Topcliffe (with its berwicks, 4l., 'now' 5l.) Leconfield and 'Scornesbi' (Scorborough), Nafferton and Hackness, had greatly *decreased* in value. At all these places, as well as Sneaton (v. post) he probably resided in turn, and Spofforth remained the chief seat of his descendants, until Alnwick was purchased by Henry lord Percy of Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham in 1309.

In Lincolnshire he had 23 manors, of which Immingham was the most valuable (worth 8l. as formerly); there he had four carucates in demesne. The Survey records that having two out of the three manors in Covenham, he bought the remaining one of Anschitel, King William's cook (fo. 354.)

As tenant of the bishop of Durham, he held lands in Lund and 'Scogerbud' in the East Riding, and of Hugh, earl of Chester:—what had formerly been earl Siward's manor in Whitby and Sneaton with its soke, and earl (King) Harold's manor of Catton; also the houses of two of his (Harold's) bailiffs in York, about which there was some dispute. He claimed of earl Hugh St. Cuthbert's church and seven small houses in York (fo. 298), and the earl was claiming of his tenant one carucate in Filling as belonging to Whitby, but has no proof (fo. 373). The abbey Reg. states that the earl bestowed Whitby on William de Perci, "as freely as he had

it by the King's gift." If so it must have been at some time after.

We know⁴⁴ most of William de Perci from his treatment of the monks of Whitby, and get thereby a very good idea of his character. A certain Reinfrid, who had served under him as a soldier in the Conqueror's army and at the siege of York in 1069, visited him afterwards when living at Sneton, and had seen the ruins of the ancient abbey of Whitby close by.

Reinfrid subsequently became a Benedictine monk at Evesham, and in 1074 with 2 brothers of that house visited the north, desiring to restore the religious houses, came again to Whitby, and was not only well received by William de Perci, but, getting his leave and assistance, set about repairing some part of the abbey ruins for immediate occupation. William, being only tenant of these lands of Hugh earl of Chester, Reinfrid obtained from the earl a grant of the convent of S. Peter's, Whitby, &c. Some monks joined Reinfrid, and he was made prior, but resigned his office to Stephen (the 'abbas Eboraci' of the Survey, by whose exertions St. Mary's abbey at York was founded, of which he was the first abbot), who made great efforts to restore the abbey, and in a short time so improved the place,—a desert when they had been given leave to occupy it—that William de Perci, repenting of his liberality, tried by every means to drive the monks away. Robbers and pirates, who then abounded, pillaged them and thus accomplished what William desired. Stephen and those who escaped, making complaint to the king, obtained permission to occupy the ancient deserted monastery of Lastingham, and they began to make the ruins habitable, but William de Perci continued to molest them, for they still held their 'conventicle' in his manor (Whitby?) Stephen applied to the king's justices, but could get no redress, so he resolved to go again to the king, then in Normandy, where William de Perci himself also then was, and returned armed with a royal charter. Still William would not let them rest, and finally drove them away from Whitby. They, for a time, remained at Lastingham, and Berengar de Toden gave them lands; but thieves daily harassing them there also, they left, and wandering about at

⁴⁴ These particulars are mostly derived from the Reg. of Whitby Abbey (see Lionel Charlton's History of Whitby) and from the interesting account abbot Stephen has left of himself; v. Monasticon, iii 544.)

last found a patron in earl Alan, who gave them land and and S. Olave's church outside York; and this was the humble beginning of St. Mary's abbey, the monastery most favoured by the Norman lords. Yet at the date of the Survey (1085) the 'abbot of York' (meaning Stephen, though the abbey there was not yet founded) still held, if only nominally, the lands under the earl of Chester's charter in Priestby (Whitby) and Sowerby of William de Perci, he of the earl (fo. 305).

Serlo de Perci, William's brother, having become a Benedictine, seems to have set about re-establishing Whitby abbey, prevailed with his brother, and obtained from the king at Westminster (W. de Perceio being there as one of the witnesses) a confirmation of whatever the convent had acquired—meaning no doubt the earl's gift—and what they might acquire (Mon. i. 412). Early in the reign of Rufus, William de Perci reluctantly, unless a change had come over him, which from the sequel does not seem probable, made the following grant, and Serlo and some monks returned to the abbey. By William's interesting charter, he gave to 'Serlo the prior, my brother and the monks,' for the foundation or re-establishing of the abbey church of St. Peter and St. Hilda, for the souls of king William, queen Matilda, king William their son, my lord, earl Hugh, my ancestors, myself, Emma de Port my wife, and Alan de Perci 'our son,' the towns of Wyteby, Stainscar, Newham, Stacksby, the port of Whitby, Hackness with St. Mary's church there, S. Peter's, &c., that the aforesaid monks may live there *peaceably*, and pray for the souls of those above named. Among the witnesses to this instrument were Thomas the archbishop, 'Emma de Port my wife, Alan, Walter and William my sons and Ernald de Perci' (*ib.* 411).

The monks were obliged to retire again to escape pirates still hovering about the coast, and Serlo begged of his brother that they might take refuge at Hackness, which he allowed on condition they should return to Whitby directly peace was re-established. About this time William, repenting of his liberality, it would seem, resumed certain lands he had given the monks, and bestowed them on Ralph de Everley, his armour-bearer or esquire, who had served him many years. Serlo made complaint to Rufus, with whom when a boy he had been familiar, and they were restored. This it seems took place when the king was at York in 1088-9 (? June

1088), and tested a charter addressed to Serlo, witnessed, among others, by archbishop Lanfranc and William de Perci himself (*ib.* 412).

There is little more to record of William de Perci. It appears he was one of those who went to the Holy Land in the first crusade under Robert Curthose, in 1096 ; happened to die at Mountjoy in sight of Jerusalem, and was there honourably buried, but his heart brought back to Whitby.

His wife 'Emma de Port,'⁴⁵ as she is styled in the charter, was, without doubt, daughter of Hugh de Port (a fief in the Bessin), a great tenant in capite in Hants, as the solitary manor of Ambledun in that county (46 b.) adjoining the fief of Hugh, the Survey states, William de Perci had with his wife ('cum feminâ suâ accepit'). Though this manor seems by the record to have been at that time severed from the barony of Port, we find by the *Liber Niger* (p. 73), Alan de Perci in 1166 still holding 1 knight's fee of the old feoffment of John de Port.

Emma survived, and in her widowhood gave⁴⁶ a house in Ousegate to Whitby abbey, where she was buried.

As Alan the heir of his father was her son, and as she survived her husband, she must have been the mother of all his sons.

Four are recorded.—1, Alan de Perci, who married Emma daughter of Gilbert de Gand, and had with her the neighbouring manor of Hundmanby (from him in the female line the earls of Northumberland and the present duke are derived) ; 2, Walter ; and 3, William (who also witnessed the charter of their father) ; 4, Richard of Dunsley, whose heirs continued there for long after.

William de Perci and his brother Serlo, were not the only members of this family⁴⁷ who came over from Normandy. Picot de Perci, another brother, no doubt, was by William before the Survey enfeoffed in the manors of Bodelton

⁴⁵ Emma has been called the Saxon heiress of the lands granted to William, who "wedded hyr in discharging of his conscience." This passes current still. Charlton (*Hist. of Whitby*) makes her daughter of earl Cospatrick ! and lady of the port of Whitby.

⁴⁶ Some other lands she had granted the monks it was decided after her death she had not power to give.

⁴⁷ The name was not extinct in Normandy, for Juliana, daughter of Roger de Perci (temp. Henry II.) gave lands out of her marriage portion to the abbey of S. Sauveur, with consent of Robert *her brother and his four sons* Thomas, Michael, Nicholas and Richard. (*Wiffin's House of Russell*, vol. i. p. 51 n.)

(Bolton-Perci) and Sutton (on Derwent). With Robert⁴⁸ his son, Picot witnessed a charter of Alan de Perci. Arnald de Perci, who witnessed the charter of William, was undoubtedly another brother. A second Arnald (his son?) attested a Whitby charter of 1133, 'with his two sons.' Ralph de Neville, who founded Hoton Lowcross nunnery about 1162, married a daughter of Ernald de Perci.

William de Perci, abbot of Whitby (ob. 1127), was nephew of William and Serlo (ob. 1102) (who his father was does not appear), and had a sister Aaliza married, 1, Hugh de Boythorpe, and 2, Reginald Buschel of Hutton (-Bushell).

Arms,—The Fusils in fess, an ancient bearing of several Breton families as Dinan, Aubigny, &c., was without doubt the coat of the original Percies, and derived from the same source. William gave his eldest son the distinctive Breton name of Alan. The Newmarches, the Plomptons, and some other Yorkshire families bore this coat, probably in right of descent from the Percys. An ancient family of Perci in Wilts and Dorset, descended from either Gilbert or William de P., tenants of the bishop of Salisbury, 1166 (*Liber Niger*), with no tradition of connection with the Nothern house, bore the same coat. The fess dancetté is a variation of the fess fusilly and was borne by Vavasour, an early feudatory of the Percys, and some of the Nevilles descended from the daughter of Ernald de Perci, also used it.

Any arms with indented horizontal lines are distinctively of Breton origin; many of the tenants of the honor of Richmond bore a chief dancetté, differenced by tincture and charges.⁴⁹ Quarterly per fess indented was another set of coats from the same quarter, mostly derived from the Fitzwarins.

⁴⁸ This Robert gave the church of Sutton to Whitby Abbey, and Picot the father, Bolton Church to Nostell priory. (Confirmed by William son of Robert,

his grandson.) *Burton's Monast. Ebor.*

⁴⁹ Roll of arms, t. Edw. iii. (Coll. Top. et Gen. vol. ii.)

ON A CERTIFICATE OF NON-VILLENAGE.

By EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A., Bottosford Manor, Brigg.

THE following document was transcribed by Gervaise Holles of Grimsby, the well-known Lincolnshire antiquary: "*ex cartulis penes nobilem virum Conyers Darcy filium primogenitum Conyers Darcy de Swillington militis.*" Holles's manuscripts are now for the most part in the British Museum. The volume from which I have copied what follows forms one of the Lansdown collection there.

The document is interesting for several reasons, but mainly as showing that so recently as 1446 villainage was not only existent, but, as it would seem, in a flourishing condition in Yorkshire. In less than a century after this, it had almost if not entirely perished throughout England, not by the violence of civil war, as we have seen a similar unhappy social arrangement destroyed in the New World, in our own day, but by the slow and silent process of increasing civilization. Had it however been a mere dead thing in the 24th year of Henry VI., "Robert of the Hall of Temple Neusom" would never have troubled himself to procure "this present scripture," setting forth that he was by no means, as had been reported, the villain or bondman regar-dant of John Lord Darcy.

Of Robert of the Hall I know nothing except what the following pages disclose. It would be interesting to ascertain whether he was a peasant, or whether, as is more probable, he was a man creeping up towards the rank of the gentry who was anxious to found a family.

John "Lord" Darcy's position in the pedigree is well ascertained. He was the second son of John fifth Lord Darcy of Knaith, co. Lincoln, a baron by writ. On the death of the fifth lord, which took place 13 Henry IV., his eldest son Philip Darcy succeeded as sixth baron Darcy. This Philip married Eleanor, daughter of Henry third baron Fitz Hugh, by writ, and had issue two daughters only,

Elizabeth, the eldest, who became the wife of Sir James Strangways, and Margaret, who married Sir John Coniers. Between the representatives of these two ladies the ancient barony of Darcy is at present in abeyance.

John the son of the fifth and brother of the sixth baron could have no claim whatever to be called "Lord," except such as the courtesy of the time afforded. He, however, appears as such in the Darcy pedigree in Hunter's *South Yorkshire*,¹ though on a previous page² it is clearly stated that the barony was in abeyance between his nieces. Though never a peer himself, he was the ancestor of a line of peers. His great grandson Thomas Darcy, son of William, son of Richard, son of this John, was summoned to parliament in 1509 as Thomas Darcy de Darcy Chl'r. He was so unhappy as to incur the enmity of Henry VIII. for his supposed complicity in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and suffered death, according to his rank, on Tower Hill, June 20, 1538.³

It is worthy of remark that this paper, like so many other documents of the 15th century, is in much more modern-looking spelling than the ordinary English books or letters of the earlier Tudor era.

Holles was a most careful transcriber, and it is not at all probable that he has in any way modernized the spelling. It should, however, be borne in mind that what is here printed is not the original but a seventeenth century copy. I have taken no liberties whatever with the record, except that I have given way to the custom (which I consider a very evil one) of extending the contractions in all cases, except where it would have absolutely falsified the text to do so.

"To all xpian people, this present scripture shall here or see. John Lord Darcy sendeth gretyng in our lord euerlasting. Forasmuch as I am duly informed that hit is detect publish and openly said amongez estatiz, knyghtes, squyers and comyners that I afore this time shuld haue said that Robert of the Hall of Temple Neusom in the countie of York is or shuld haue beene my villane and bondman regardand to my maner of Temple Newsom biforeshaid/ As vnto this mater by request and supplication to me made to write and certifie the trouth. I say that if there be any persone that

¹ Vol. ii. 391.

² Vol. ii. 163.

³ Hunter S. Yorks. II. 163.

will say that I pronounsid or publishe (*sic*) such wordz in famynge of the said Robert or euyr thoght such mater and he be of such a state or degree as I am. I say he says vntrewely of me. Moreouer truly I neuer fonde, sawe, then (*sic*) knewe any euidence by the which I shuld haue had or has any title of villenage in his persone or his auncestors, and that shall I be redy to make gode and defende as goddez law and knyghthode requireth. In witnesse to which thyng to this scripture, I haue made to be put the sele of myne armys."

"Yeuen at Temple hirst the fift day of the moneth of Juyn, the yeer of the reigne of kyng Henry sixt, foure and twenty."

Lansd. MS, 207 a. fol. 130.

LOCAL MUNIMENTS.

THE deeds and documents comprised in the following selection have been received from various sources. These grouped under the numbers I., II., and III., have been communicated by Dr. John Sykes, F.S.A., of Doncaster. Number IV. is given by the kind permission of Sir George Armytage, Bart., and will be found useful in illustration of the question of Villenage in times earlier than the period to which the document relates, on which Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., has written at page 156 of this volume.

Alice, daughter of William Mounger of Clifton, was evidently a villein in gross, and it may be taken as certain that her father was of the same class; and it is good evidence of the completely recognized character of the slavery and bond-service which villenage involved, to find John le Flemyng, a connection probably of Reynerus Flandrensis, the stated founder of the Cistercian nunnery at Kirklees, making this grant and the Convent accepting it.

No. V. communicated by John Lister, Esquire, of Shibden Hall, near Halifax, is a document of peculiar interest in reference to the words and expressions made use of in it. The charter alleged to have been forged unfortunately has not been preserved, but this solemn testimonial letter of the twelve worthies who met in conclave to examine it is not the less valuable as a picture of the method pursued by somewhat homely people, to compose and settle a difficulty affecting the property of one of their neighbours. It may be doubted whether the instrument has any legal validity; but sufficient importance would probably be attached to the rough and ready decision of the self-constituted tribunal, to make it a final determination of the matters in difference between the parties interested. The spelling has throughout been carefully copied, and the occurrence of such words as "medefull," "grouchyng" (grudge in its older sense), "lethly," "peneworthe of lyvelott," is noteworthy.

No. VI. is an Abstract by Mr. J. J. Cartwright, M.A., F.S.A., of the grant to Thomas Legh, Doctor of Laws, of the site and lands of the dissolved priory of S. Oswald, at Nostell. Dr. Legh's name is still preserved in the name Lee fair, still given to a fair, formerly of greater importance than now, held at Woodkirk, West Ardsley, once a cell at Nostell.

I.

This deed has been photolithographed for Colonel Sykes, by Sir Henry James, C.B., Director of the Ordnance Survey at Southampton, from whom the accompanying illustration has been procured. It is believed to contain the earliest mention of the word Sykes, Sicks, as a patronymic.

Noverint presentes et futuri quod ego Adam filius Petri de Floketon dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Agneta del Sicks de floketon et heredibus vel assignatis suis totam illam terram que vocatur Estecroft cum prato et bosco et cum omnibus suis pertinenciis sicut jacet inter terram quam Willelmus del Sicks quondam tenuit ex una parte et Terram Adæ filii Martini de Floketon ex altera in latitudine et incipit a alta via et protendit se in longitudine usque floketonbroke præ quadam summa pecunie in nostris manibus data Tenendum et Habendum de Johanne le hewer et heredibus suis vel assignatis Agnetæ et heredibus suis vel assignatis libere quiete integre hereditarie bene et in pace cum omnibus aysiammentis libertatibus et communibus tantæ terræ pertinentibus infra divisas de Floketon et extra Reddendum inde annuatim predicto Johanni et heredibus suis vel assignatis quatuor denarios ad Pascham et mihi et heredibus meis unum denarium ad eundem terminum pro omni servicio seculari exactione et demandis. Et ego vero Adam et heredes mei prædictæ Agnetæ et heredibus suis vel assignatis totam predictam Terram cum prato et bosco et cum omnibus suis pertinenciis pro predicto servicio prout superius dictum est contra omnes homines feminas et Judeos Warrantizabimus Adquietabimus et imperpetuum defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium huic cartæ sigillum meum apposui Hiis testibus Domino Johanne de horebyry presbitero Richardo de floketon Johanne de Bretona Willelmo de hethewalley Willelmo filio Roberti Johanne del coco Willelmo filio maugerij et multis aliis.

Seal gone.

II.

Grant of vi.d per annum to the service of the Blessed Mary, of the Church at Sandal.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel auditoris Alexander filius Petri de Crigelistur Salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me pro Salute animæ meæ et Antecessorum meorum dedisse concessisse et presenti scripto confirmasse servicio Beatæ Mariæ Ecclesiæ de Sandale Redditum annuum sex denariorum imperpetuum percipiendum de una particula prati in le fryt quam quondam emi de Alexandro filio Alexandri, Molen-

darii videlicet ad purificationem Beatæ Virgnis tres denarios et ad assumptionem ejusdem tres denarios. Ego vero Alexander et heredes mei dictum redditum pro predicto prato dicto servicio ad predictos terminos fideliter persolvemus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Thoma Coco de Sandale, Henrico de Wodus, Petro de Walton, Ricardo de Breton Willelmo de W. . . . , Willelmo de Heyrode, Roberto filio Henrici Delker Eadmundo de Mora Johanne Patrick et aliis.

Endorsed "In fryth vjd."

III.

Hopton Charters, &c., abstracted by John Sykes, M.D., F.S.A.

1. A.D. 1323.—John son of Richard de Hopton gives to Anabell his mother for her life the tenement which he inherited on the death of his father in Hopton; rendering annually to him and his heirs sixteen shillings and three pence at Easter and Michaelmas by equal portions. Witnesses: Adam de Helay, William Bywater, Richard de Northorpe, Adam de Denely, Thomas son of Henry de Hopton. Dated at Hopton on the Monday next after the feast of S. Tiburtius, A.D. 1323.

2. A.D. 1323.—John son of Robert de Bosco of Baddysworth quitclaims to John son of Richard de Hopton all his right to all those lands and tenements which he had of the gift of Richard de Hopton within the lands of Hopton. Witnesses: Adam de Helay, William Bywater, Richard de Northorpe, Adam de Deneby, Nicholas Fuller. Dated at Hopton on the Friday next after the feast of S. Tiburtius, A.D. 1323.

3. A.D. 1334.—John son of Roger de Hopton gives to Matilda the daughter of Thomas de Heton and Alice de Kithley, during the life of the said Matilda, the half of his messuage and houses and all his lands in Hopton. Witnesses: Hugh de Kesceburgh, Richard de Heton, William Theynnge, John Porter, Adam le Walkar. Dated at Hopton, the Sunday next after S. Peter ad Vincula, A.D. 1334.

4. A.D. 1337.—Hugh de Machon de Hopton gives to Sibille his daughter all his lands and tenements in Hopton. Witnesses: Hugh de Kesceburgh, Richard son of Richard de Heton, William Bythewater of Mirfield, John son of Richard de Hopton, junior, John son of John de Hopton. Dated, Sunday next before the Feast of S. Michael the Archangel, A.D. 1337.

5. A.D. 1346.—John son of Hugh de Lone de Hopton quitclaims to William de Mirfield his right in all the messuages and lands which he has within the bounds of Hopton and Mirfield. Witnesses: Sir John de Eland, Knight, Adam de Hopton, William de Nevill, Henry de Sayvill, John de Lascels, Adam de Helay de Mirfield, John de Gledholt. Dated at Mirfield on Wednesday next after the feast of S. Barnabas the Apostle, A.D. 1346.

6. A.D. 1347.—William the son of Nicholas de Roukhelay and Sibil his wife gives to William de Mirfield one messuage and all the lands which they had in Hopton. Witnesses: Sir John de Eland and Sir Brian de Thornill, Knights, Hugh de Kesceburk, Thomas del Stokes, John de Gledholt. Dated at Hopton on the Friday in the feast of S. Thomas the Apostle, A.D. 1347.

7. A.D. 1348.—Johanna the daughter of John son of John the son of Roger de Hopton, gave to William de Mirfield all the messuages and lands, &c., which she had of the gift of John son of John son of Roger de Hopton in Hopton. Witnesses: Sir John de Eland, Sir John le Flemynge, Knights, Adam de Hopton, Henry de Sayville, Richard de Helay, John de Gledholt. Dated at Hopton on the Saturday next before the feast of S. The. . . the bishop, A.D. 1348.

8. A.D. 1351.—William del ylle de Hopton releases to William de Mirfield his right in all those lands or tenements which Margery Bacon held of John de Mirfield father of the aforesaid William de Mirfield within the bounds of Hopton. Witnesses: John le Sayvile, Richard de Helay de Mirfield, Hugh de Kescelburgh, William Moldson de Whitlay, Thomas florster de Heton. Dated at Hopton on S. Nicholas' Day, A.D. 1351.

9. A.D. 1382.—Johanna the daughter and heiress of John Carter of Sothill gave to John de Sothill and John de Chiddeshill one messuage with a croft adjoining in Westerydeslaw, called Moccockcroft, and one messuage with a croft adjoining in the same, called Colmcroft, and all her land lying in the field called Whitinglay in the territory of the same, which descended to her by inheritance after the death of her father the aforesaid John. Witnesses: Robert Swepestake, Robert de Wallhouse, Adam de Morley de Tinglow, William Taylor de Dorynglaw, Robert de Lynlay. Dated at West Erdeslaw on Sunday next after the feast of S. Peter in Cathedra. A.D. 1382.

10. A.D. 1430.—John Hagh son and heir of John Haghe of Haghous, gave to Thomas Hagh his brother son of John Hagh of Haghous, all the messuages, lands, and tenements, &c., which descended to him by inheritance after the death of the said John Hagh of Haghous, in a place called Coptryding, and in all other places within the vill and territory of Stayneland. Witnesses: William Bentlay, vicar of the church of Huddersfield, John Milner de Bradleygrange, William Denton de Skamondeyne, Thomas Hagh de Quarneby, Thomas Hagh de Skyrehouse. Dated at Coptryding within the vill of Stayneland, 20 Dec. A.D. 1430.

IV.

Grant by John le Flemyng of a "nativa" to the Prioress and convent of Kirklees.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Dominus Johannes Flandrensis Dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi et imperpetuum quietam clamavi de me et heredibus meis Priorisse de Kirkeleys et sanctis monialibus ibidem deo servientibus, pro anima patris mei et pro animabus antecessorum meorum et pro tres solidis vi denariis argenti quod predicta mihi dederunt pre manibus Aliciam filiam Willelmi Mounger de Clifton et heredes sui cum tota sequela sua et catallis suis mobilis et immobilis presentibus et futuris sine retenemento. Ita Scilicet quietam clamavi quod nec ego Johannes nec ullus heredum meorum clamam neque calumpniam versus predictam Aliciam vel heredes suos vel sequelam vel cattalla sua de cetero possumus exigere nec vendicare. In hujus rei testimonium presens scriptum Sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus Henrico filio Godewini de Clifton Thoma de Grenegate Ada fratre ejus Johanne de Haveweldun Thoma del Clif Willelmo et Ada et aliis.

On oval seal in white wax a fleur de lys.

Legend. S' Johannis le Flandrensis.

Endorsed. Manumissio Nativæ.

V.

To all true Crysten People in Crist to whome this presentt wryttinge shall see or her wee sende grettyng in oure lorde everlastyng. In alsmoche as itt is merytorie and medefull for every true Crysten man will disposeth forto certyfie and recorde the truthe in every mater and specialye in suche materes As may by Possibilite groue unto a grett inconvenientt yff thay be contynuede overlange wee Theirefor Thomas Lascy esquier John Sayvell gentilman William Wylkynson the son of Robert Wilkynson John Wylbe yoman John Littister sen. yoman William Dughtty yoman John Littister jun. yoman John Barstowe off Brounyse-hirste yoman John Barstowe of halyfax Draperour Thomas Littister the son of John Littister Robert Barstowe of halyfax draperoure Beryng wittines and Certifynge unto youre woshipfull Audiaunce thatt where as a Rumour and A grouchyng hathe been hade Emonge diverse People of this sayd Parichayn of halyfax that ther sulde have been oone Charter of the landes of William Otes in Shippedeyn by the strenght of whiche Chartter all the landes off William Ottes in Shippedeyn suld have standeth in taiall made by the Antecessours of William Ottes aforsaide the whiche Charter hathe been soo laboreth As itt is gyffen into the keypyng of true honeste and credeable men and A Copee of the same hathe been shewethe unto hus afor writtyñ for to bee understandethe by oure discrecciõs and Advise whedder hitt wer true & lawfull or hitt wer falsely forgyd by some curseth & unhappy Creators In the whiche Chartter wee fynde thatt the forsaide landes Ar Tailleth unto oone Thomas Ottis yett levyng for fawte of heires lawfullye comyng of other persons contenyd in the Chartter wharfore wee have laborethe the forsaide Thomas Otes to com afor hus afor writtyñ the xviith daie of Apriell the xviith yer of the Reigne of kynge Edward the furthe and there the forsaide Thomas Ottes stricottely was examennid of his Aige by divers menys & sworne upon the holy dam¹ (?) & upon the sam he hathe utter his age afor hus byfor writtyn thatt is to say yat hee shalbe of age (of) LXV yer att Whittesondaye nextt comyng the Chartter specyfyinge hitt selfe for to be made At the fest of Peter and Paule xi yer of reigne of kynge Henrye the ffurthe In somuche As wee afor-writtyn Thomas Lascy John Saivell William John John William John John Thomas and Robert understandyng by oure Discrecions by the Dat of this Chartter & the Age of the forsaide Thomas Ottes every yer halfe yer quarter of yer monethe fforntenyghtt or sevnnyghtt of the Reigne of every kynge Reignyng upon hus sithen thatt tyme lethly and truely A Countethe that hit wase falsely and wikkydly forged agaynes the lawe the Date of Chartter beyng off the Age of 2 yer & more Afor the forsaide Thomas Ottes was borounde of his mother into this world the whiche Ar impossible to stand to gedire the saide Thomas Ottes & wee afor wryttyñ marvellyng grettely that ther suld be soo Curseth A

¹ Thus in original: *sacrament* erased and *dam* substituted. Probably the word is *holydam*, i.e. *halidom*.

Creatour or creaturis in this warld that suche false Evidennc forgys or makythe to be forged for Any singular avayll of this traunsitorye lyve considerynge the uttour myschiefe & confusionne of the saules iffe thay dysherthe Any erthely Creatour off Any Peneworthe of lyvelott mekyll more or lese iff thay Disseherth Any Creatour of Any grett substans of lyviyng the whiche by manys resoun withoute the marvellous wyrkyng of the power of gode wer impossible for yam to reforme unto the ryght Inheritour Agaynn iff thaye wold spend ther bodys & ther goodys there Aponn to the utterest. Therefor wee Aboven wryttynn exorttes every man or womaun havevyng petye & mynde of his Awne sawlle yu exchueyng of all myscheffes & inconvenientes that may by possibilite happyñ by suche A Cursed & unhappy Creatour or Creattures that suche Evidennc forgys or causethe to be forged to gyve no credennc in suche soñ Evidens withoute a lawfull prove Apone the same. Into the wittynes heroff wee Afor wrettynn Thomas Lascy John Sayvell William Wilkynsoñ John Wylby John Littester senior William Dughtty John Littester junior John Barstowe Thomas Littester and Robert Barstowe to thisoure presentt Testimoniall letter hathe sette our Seallya. Writtynn Att Halyfax the Daie & yer aforsaid.

VI.

The King to all &c. greeting. Be it known that we, in consideration of the good, true, and faithful service, which our beloved servant Thomas Legh Doctor of Laws before these times has done to us, as well as for the sum of one thousand one hundred and twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, of lawful English money, paid by Thomas himself for our use into the hands of the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations of our special grace &c. have given and granted, and by these presents give and grant to the same Thomas Leghe all the House and Site of the former Monastery or Priory of St. Oswald, in our County of York now dissolved, and all the church, belfry, and cemetery of the same former monastery and all our messuages, granges, mills, houses, buildings, pigeon-cotes, orchards, gardens, lying and situate about the said former Monastery. And also one close of arable land called Turneflatt containing about forty-eight acres, one close of pasture called Galloweflatt containing about twenty-four acres, and one close of meadow called Galloweflatt ynge containing about eighteen acres, one close of pasture called Pitt Close containing about sixteen acres, one close of arable land called Horne castell Hyll containing about thirty-two acres, one close of arable land called the pastures containing about twenty acres, one close of pasture called Riede. Carre containing about eight acres, one close of pasture called Dogge flatt containing about ten acres, one close of pasture called le flatt bytwene the Wodds containing about five acres, one close of meadow called Turneflattyng containing about four acres, one close of arable land called Cotte Carr abutting on the West Dame containing about thirty acres, one close of meadow called Cotte Carr ynge containing about eight acres, one close of arable land called Felbye² flate containing about twenty-four acres, one close of meadow called Horse Close containing

² Now known as Foulby.

about twelve acres, one close of meadow called Abyd dyke containing about three acres, one close of arable land called Wyndemyll Felde containing about twenty-four acres, one close of pasture adjacent similarly called Wyndemyll Felde containing about thirty acres, one close of pasture called Curtes Parke containing about three acres, one close of pasture called Whinny close containing about twelve acres, one close of pasture called Dame dykes lying between the aforesaid close called Turnesflatt and Felbye Flatt containing about six acres, one close of pasture called Segge Dame containing about three acres, one close of pasture called Wragby Wodd containing about ten acres, one close of pasture called Laghton containing about twelve acres, one close of meadow called Fairestede containing about five acres, one close of pasture called Vicar Croft containing about three acres, one close of meadow called Nere Priory Close containing about sixteen acres, one close of meadow called Priory Close ynge containing about three acres, one close of meadow called Farre Priory Close containing about seventeen acres. Also all that wood of ours called Felbye Wodd with its belongings containing about five acres and all that wood called Swyneherd Wodd containing about four acres, and also that wood called Lacye Wodd containing about four acres and a half, and all that wood called Wragbye Spryng containing about six acres, and all that wood called Fairested Spryng containing about three roods by Fairested yng, and all that wood called Elyott Spryng containing about five acres, and all that wood called New Spring containing about three acres.

All and each of which premises above mentioned and specified with their belongings are commonly called the demesne lands of the said former monastery and lie and are in the parish of Wragbye in the said County of York and are a portion of the lands tenements and possessions of the said former monastery. We give also and for the aforesaid considerations by these presents grant to the aforesaid Thomas Leghe all those two water mills situate near the site of the said former priory of St. Oswald in Wragbye aforesaid and one small parcel of land there adjacent containing about one acre. Also all that coal mine in the parish of Crofton in the said County of York recently belonging to the said monastery, which coal mine was usually kept in the hands, working and occupation of the former Prior of the former monastery before the dissolution of the same. And further we give and for the aforesaid considerations grant to the aforesaid Thomas Leghe all our Grange of Huntewyke with its appurtenances in the parish of Wragbye recently belonging to the said former monastery, together with all houses, buildings, lands, meadows and pastures belonging to the same Grange. And all that close of meadow called Ive Ing containing about twelve acres, one close of pasture called Wyndemyll Felde containing about thirty-two acres, one close of arable land called Beane Close containing about twelve acres, one close of meadow called Slack Ynge containing about one acre and a half, one close of pasture called Highe Felde containing about twenty acres, one close of arable land called Farre Highe Felde containing about twenty acres, one close of pasture called Brekks containing about twelve acres, one close of arable land called Cowe Close containing about eleven acres, one close of arable land called Farre Lowe Hunte Wyck and Long Huntewyck containing about thirty-two acres, one close of pasture called Flyte Close containing about ten acres, one close of pasture called

Rye Rode containing about three acres, one close of arable land called le Wodd containing about twenty acres, and one close of meadow called Callfeynge containing about one acre, with all and each of their appurtenances, commodities and profits whatsoever, situate and being in the parish of Wragbye aforesaid. Also all that capital messuage of ours called Okenshawe, and all lands, meadows and pastures belonging to the same messuage with its appurtenances, situate and being in the parish of Crofton, recently belonging to the late monastery. And all that capital messuage called Holewell otherwise Howell halle, and all lands, meadows and pastures belonging to the same messuage with all its appurtenances, situate and being in the parish of Thrynscoo³ in our said County of York, belonging to the said former monastery. And also all that wood called Holewell otherwise Howell containing about one hundred and sixty acres, and one other little wood there containing about two acres.

We give also and for the aforesaid considerations by these presents grant to the aforesaid Thomas Leghe the whole house and site of the late priory or Celle de Skokirke in our said County of York formerly belonging to the late monastery and all the church, belfry and cemetery of the late Priory or Celle de Skokirke aforesaid, and all messuages, houses, buildings, stables, , orchards, gardens, lands upon as well as near to and about the site of the same late Priory or Celle de Skokirke.

And one close of meadow called Brode Close or Overclose and Nether Close containing about twenty acres, one close of meadow called litile Parck containing about two acres, one close of arable land called Lathe Close containing about five acres, one close of arable land called Fogge Close containing about three acres, one close of meadow called Seoy Close containing about one acre, one close of arable land containing three acres adjoining the same Seoy Close. And one meadow called (Neffe?) containing about nine acres, one field called Wynnyngthwayte containing about ten acres, one field of arable land called Tockwith West Felde containing about three acres, one field de Tockwith aforesaid called Southfelde containing about half an acre. And one acre of land lying in Marstonfelde; with all their appurtenances lying and being in the parish of Bylton in our said County of York, recently belonging to the said late Priory or Celle de Skokyrke, and being parcel of the lands tenements and possessions of the same. And one cottage in Tockwith in the said parish of Bylton in the tenure of Richard Lincolne and one other cottage in Tockwith aforesaid in the tenure of⁴ , and also four shillings of annual rent proceeding from one tenement in Kyrkehamton in our said County of York recently belonging to the late Priory or Celle de Skokyrke. And all those ten mills called Stank Mylla in⁵ in our said County of York, belonging to the late Priory or Celle. And further we give &c. the site of the manor of Bramham called Bramham Byggynge with its appurtenances in our said County of York recently belonging to the said late monastery or priory of St. Oswald, and all lands, tenements, meadows and pastures belonging to the site of the same manor. Also pasturage for three hundred and sixty sheep on the common moors of Bramham to feed off annually. And

⁴ Left blank on Roll.

³ Thurnscoe.

⁵ This is also blank.

also two parts of one meadow called le Aplegarthe in Bramham aforesaid, and all the rabbit warren belonging to the late monastery of St. Oswald. And all that wood called le West Wodd and our wood called le Rakes in Bramham recently belonging to the former monastery of St. Oswald.

And all and each of the aforesaid mills, granges, lands, tenements, woods &c. All and each of the premises above named and specified with their appurtenances to be had and held by the aforesaid Thomas Legh his heirs and assigns &c. from us our heirs and successors *in capite* by the service of a tenth part of one knight's fee, and the payment to us our heirs and successors of eight pounds ten shillings at each annual feast of St. Michael &c., &c.

THE deed at page 162 having, by inadvertence, been printed from an incorrect transcript, and gone to press without being compared with the photozincograph, a corrected version is here given.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod Ego Adam filius Petri de floketona dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Agneti del Sickes de floketona et heredibus vel assignatis suis totam illam terram que vocatur Estecroft cum prato et bosco et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis sicut jacet inter terram quam Willelmus del Sickes quondam tenuit ex una parte et terram Ade filii Martini de floketon ex altera in latitudine et incipit a alta via et protendit se in longitudine usque floketonbrok pro quadam summa pecunie mihi prae manibus data Tenendum et Habendum de Johanne le hewer et heredibus suis vel assignatis sibi et heredibus suis vel assignatis libere quiete integre hereditarie bene et in pace cum omnibus aysiamentis libertatibus et communis tantæ terræ pertinentiis infra divisas de floketon et extra Reddendo inde annuatim predicto Johanni et heredibus suis vel assignatis quatuor denarios ad Pascham et mihi et heredibus meis unum denarium ad eundem terminum pro omni servicio seculari exacione et demanda. Et Ego vero Adam et heredes mei predictæ Agneti et heredibus suis vel assignatis totam predictam terram cum prato et bosco et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis pro predicto servicio prout superius dictum est contra omnes homines feminas et Judeos Warrantizabimus adquietabimus et imperpetuum defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium huic cartæ sigillum meum apposui Hiis testibus Domino Johanne de horebyry milite Michaelo de floketon Johanne de bretteona Willelmo de hethewalley Willelmo filio Roberti Johanne del coterio Willelmo filio et multis aliis.

SUBSIDY ROLL FOR YORK AND AINSTY.

CIVITAS } This is the sedule Indentyd made the ixth day of Aprill
EBOR. } in the xvth yere of the reign of oure sovereign lorde king
Henry the viijth by the grace of God king of England and
of France Defensor of the Faith and lorde of Irlond John Norman
maior of the said City of York John Dogeson John Halle William
Wright Thomas Parker Symon Vycars Thomas Burton William Barker
Peter Jakson Robert Wyld John Rasyng Thomas Mason aldermen of
the same Jamys Bladys & Rychard Huchonson shyreffs of the forsaid
City and Commissioners of oure said sovereign lorde the king wⁱⁿ the
forsaid City of York suburbes of the same and also wⁱⁿ the Wapentyke
of the Ainsty the whiche is annexyd to the said City. Wherein is
conteigned both the names and surnames of all persons dwelling wⁱⁿ
the said City Suburbes & the Wapentyke afforsaid chargeable to the
Acte of Parliament grauntyd to his grace in the xvth yere of his said
reign with the valuncon bothe of their goodes and landes & also the
sommen whereunto they be assessed & due to his grace by reason of
the forsaid Acte, and the names of all subcollectors and also the sommes
wherew^t they be particularly charged w^{all}.

WARDURA DE BOWTHUM EBOR.

PAROCHIA S^{ci} MIC^hIS IN LE BELFRAY & Bⁿ.

William Wright in goods 16 <i>l.</i> , inde Dño Regi	8 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
And so y ^e said William is decayed sens the first leve by trusting of his goods to dyvers persons—24 <i>l.</i> whereof he trusteth [soon] to be paid.		
Robert Wylde in goods 45 marks	26 <i>s.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>
John Chapman in goods 160 <i>l.</i>	8 <i>l.</i>	0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
William Faux in wages 26 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>		6 <i>d.</i>
Jeffray Hawdewyn in wages 26 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>		6 <i>d.</i>
John Raynard in wages 26 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>		6 <i>d.</i>
William Richardson in goods 5 <i>l.</i>	2 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
Robert Hornecliff in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
Thomas Horner in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
John Bowe profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Richard Taillour in goods 5 <i>l.</i>	2 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
Johan Wright in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
George Gayle in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>
Jamys Halle in goods 3 <i>l.</i>		18 <i>d.</i>
Thomas Matter . . . profetts for wages 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
Nevell Morrens Freucheman in goods 20 marks	13 <i>s.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
William Gilmyn . . . in wages 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
John Grey in goods, 7 <i>l.</i>	3 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
William Mason in goods 3 <i>l.</i>		18 <i>d.</i>
Robert Elwald in goods 10 <i>l.</i>	5 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>

Rauf Pulleyn in goods 18 <i>l</i> .	9 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
and hath paid for lands ye first leve 8 <i>l</i> .		
Thomas Kitchyu in lands 4 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Loksmith in goods 16 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
The same Robert for 2 children's porçons 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Braght in wages 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
..... in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Wright in goods 40 marks	26 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Hew Barton in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Gachell Frencheman in goods 40 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>l</i> .	0 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Fereman in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Torte profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Edward Keld profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Cristofer Symson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Jamys Symcooke profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Benson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Phelip Gillo profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Richard Wardroper profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Costentyne in wages 23 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .		4 <i>d</i> . ob.
Rauf Pulleyn for the porçon of George Bankhus y ^e which amownetith to 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Cristofer Symondson in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Challener gent. in goods 40 <i>l</i> .	40 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Nicholes Cure in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Phelip Cure in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Mighell Cure in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
William Gylmyn yonger in goods 19 <i>l</i> .	9 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Sythe Gillour in goods 15 <i>l</i> .	7 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Kateren Gillour in goods 15 <i>l</i> .	7 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Cakeman in goods 22 <i>l</i> .	22 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Norton in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Norton in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Alice Norton in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Isabell Norton in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Peirson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Carlell in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Cobbe profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Williamson in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Johu Loksmyth profetts for wages 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Cristofer Norham in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
John Lambe profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Isabell Sproxton profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Alman profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Tomson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Fone in goods 18 <i>l</i> .	9 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Skyrro in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Cristofer Taillour profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Kirk shomaker profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Lambe in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Brian Teismond in goods 7 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Richard Sadler in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
The forsaid Bryau a childes porçon of 3 <i>l</i> . in his hand		18 <i>d</i> .

Thomas Grene profetts for wages 20s.			4d.
Richard Thikpenny in goods 40s.			12d.
Hewe Hughley in goods 40 marks.	26s.		8d.
Thomas Watter in goods 100l.	100s.		0d.
Leonard Richardson profetts for wages 20s.			4d.
John Rayncok in goods 18l.		9s.	0d.
William Tomson in goods 16l.		8s.	0d.
Robert Cooke in goods 7l.		3s.	6d.
Thomas Lyster in goods 10l.		5s.	0d.
Cristofer Holme in goods 10l.		5s.	0d.
William Mollans profetts for wages 20s.			4d.
Agnes Morley wido in goods 40s.			12d.
Bryan Lewty in goods 7l.		3s.	6d.
Robert Watterton in goods 16l.		8s.	0d.
Nicholes Gylfeld in goods 4l.		2s.	0d.
James Wodde in goods 40s.			12d.
William Tailbus in goods 6l.		3s.	0d.
John Wightman in goods 40s.			12d.
Ambros Dunwiche profetts for wages 40s.			12d.
John Lister in goods 16l.		8s.	0d.
Nicholes Burton in goods 5l.		2s.	6d.
Herry Huchonson in goods 10l.		5s.	0d.
Diones Baker in goods 3l.			18d.
Thomas Cell profetts for wages 20s.			4d.
Thomas Richardson in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Herry Mennell in wages 40s.			12d.
Herry Bygott in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Richard Fishburne in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
John Goode in wages 40s.			12d.
Mighell Cooke in wages 40s.			12d.
William Glewe in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Thomas Wilson in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
William Butler in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Thomas Pennyngton in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
John Bene in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
William Neuwance in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Jamys Robert in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
John Whitehede in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Robert Heton in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
John Flaxton in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
George Horskepar in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Richard Tayte in wages 20s.			4d.
Richard Bell in wages 20s.			4d.
Richard Barker in wages 20s.			4d.
Summa istius Parochie	36l.	15s. 8½d.	

P'OCH' WILFRIDI.

George Lawson gent. in goodes 200l., inde Dño Regi.	10l.	0s.	0d.
John Lorans in goods 5l.		2s.	6d.
Jamys Emondson in goods 5l.		2s.	6d.
Robert Dunwell in wages 4l.		2s.	0d.
Thomas Ledayle in goods 40s.			12d.

Thomas Lawson in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Robert Foster in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Richard Hyandson profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Summa istius Parochie . 10l. 9s. 4d.	

P'och' s̄c̄e ELENE.

Richard Stirley in goods 40 marks	26s. 8d.
Robert Turnor in goods 40 marks	26s. 8d.
Thomas Sadler in wages 20s.	4d.
Mathewe Hartley in goods 6l.	3s. 0d.
Robert Levett in goods 3l.	18d.
Thomas Karre in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
Edward Lax in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
William Lambe in goods 40s.	12d.
Hewe Dobyson in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
John Wilson in goods 3l. 6s. 8d.	20d.
Rauf Blads in goods 5 marks	20d.
John Nassyngton in goods 40s.	12d.
Herry Edon in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Richardson in goods 40s.	12d.
Robert Nevyle in goods 40s.	12d.
Agnes Newman wydo in goods 40s.	12d.
Jamys Wilson in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Wicyff in goods 40s.	12d.
William Robson in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
John Clerk in goods 40s.	12d.
Thomas Furnys in goods 40s.	12d.
William Hill in goods 40s.	12d.
Servant of the said Rauf Blads in wages 30s.	6d.
Thomas Wicyff in goods 40s.	12d.
William Emondson profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Summa istius Parochie . 4l. 0s. 10d.	

PAROCHIA s̄c̄i MARTINI IN CONYNGSTRETE.

Thomas Drawswerde in lands 18l.	18s. 0d.
& spent by hym in beryng of offices of the said citie sens the furst leve 22l.	
Thomas Parkor in goods 18l.	9s. 0d.
John Metcalf in goods 24l.	24s. 0d.
Raynald Beislay in goods 12l.	6s. 0d.
Miles Newton in wages 5l.	2s. 6d.
Thomas Lund in goods 16l.	8s. 0d.
John Hoode in goods 14l.	7s. 0d.
William Halle in goods 12l.	6s. 0d.
John Burton in wages 4l.	2s. 0d.
Herry Faux in wages 4l.	2s. 0d.
John Cobstake in goods 7l.	3s. 6d.
William Cokks in goods 40l.	40s. 0d.
Thomas Mason in goods 10l.	5s. 0d.
Robert Beger in goods 9l.	4s. 6d.
Robert Wilman in goods 12l.	6s. 0d.
Robert Furnys in goods 6l.	3s. 0d.

Robert Perkyn in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .
Thomas Flemyng in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .
John Sawghell in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Richard Williamson in goods 8 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .
Thomas Baldshawe in goods 5 marks	
John Neilson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
John Egremond in wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
Thomas Smyth in goods 3 <i>l</i> .	
Cristofer Jakson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
Robert Staneburne in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .
William Letty in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
John Tomson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Johanna Bland wido in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
William Thorneton in wages 40 <i>s</i> .	
Hewe Judson in goods 3 <i>l</i> .	
Robert Drape in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Thomas Curryer in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
William Elwald in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Robert Hormsby in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Robert Bekwith in wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
Jamys Harbottell profetts for wages 40 <i>s</i> .	
Roger Jonson profetts for wages 40 <i>s</i> .	
William Blakburne profetts for wages 40 <i>s</i> .	
Robert Ovyngton in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
William Adenett in wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
John Almond in wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
Robert Owerby in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Herry Askquyth in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Archebold Foster profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
Cuthbert Turduff profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
Rauf Whitacres profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
Summa istius Parochie	8 <i>l</i> . 19 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .

HOSPITALIS SCI LEONARDI.

Robert Chefton in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .
Margarett Flowre wydo in lands 10 marks	6 <i>s</i> .
Agnes Sharparro in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Margaret Kirkby in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Margaret Stubbys in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Robert Murthwayte profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
John Wright in wages 40 <i>s</i> .	
William Bekbank profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
John Flanwyth profetts for wages 26 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .	
Summa Hospitalis predicte	18 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .

PAROCHIA SCI OLAVI.

John Tindayle in goods 5 marks	
John Archer in wages 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .
John Clynt in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
John Levoty in wages 20 <i>s</i> .	
William Curtes in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	
Mighell Sclater in wages 40 <i>s</i> .	

John Stalker in wages 40s.	12d.
Cristofer Hogeson in wages 40s.	12d.
Thomas Londe in wages 40s.	12d.
John Mansum in wages 40s.	12d.
Robert Lowesse in wages 40s.	12d.
Marshall Moryn in goods 40s.	12d.
Cristofer Pyke profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
William Sparlyng profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Nicholas Hyum or Hyn in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Clark in wages 40s.	12d.
Richard Clark Barbour in wages 40s.	12d.
Richard Chapman in goods 40s.	12d.
John Wynyate in wages 20s.	4d.
Richard Carver in goods 40s.	12d.
William Nawton in wages 40s.	12d.
Richard Jakson in wages 40s.	12d.
Thomas Tankerfeld in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
John Armestrang in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Pilly in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
John Wilson of Jelygate in goods 3l.	18d.
Richard Makerell in goods 40s.	12d.
Gilbert Santtam in wages 40s.	12d.
Richard Cowpar in wages 40s.	12d.
Richard Turnour in goods 10l.	5s. 0d.
Richard Dyatson in wages 4l.	2s. 0d.
Jennet Hylton in goods 40s.	12d.
Antony Wyngayt profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Maistress Warde in lands 10 marks	6s. 8d.
Robert Bell in goods 40s.	12d.
Isabell Skelton wydo for 2 child'n porçons 5l.	2s. 6d.
John Beste in wages 20s.	4d.
Richard Eddryngton in wages 20s.	4d.
Adam Robynson in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Robert Huntlay in wages 40s.	12d.
Thomas Sesseton in wages 40s.	12d.
John Handley yonger in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
John Anderson in wages 40s.	12d.
John Hakbarro in goods 40s.	12d.
Thomas Day in goods 40s.	12d.
John Halle in goods 6l.	3s. 0d.
John Bramton in goods 40s.	12d.
John Sowtheron in goods 40s.	12d.
William Shawe in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
John Croft in wages 40s.	12d.
Henry Barton in wages 40s.	12d.
Frances Dyneley in wages 40s.	12d.
Edward Middylton in wages 40s.	12d.
Valentyne Metcalf in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Robert Fetherstane in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Mighell Metcalf in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Antony Wymp in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Richard Whalley in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.

George Braideryg in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Rolland of the Leache in wages 20s.	4d.
William Pyk in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
John Nalour in wages 20s.	4d.
Leonard Metcalf in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Rauf Ryther in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
John Ryther in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Denys Metcalf in wages 20s.	4d.
James Twhates in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
William Swayne in wages 20s.	4d.
James Yngland in wages 20s.	4d.
Thomas Buckshawe in wages 20s.	4d.

Summa istius Parochie . 3l. 15s. 8d.

Summa Totalis Predictie Warde de Bowthum . . 64l. 19s. 8½d.

John Wryght notary	} Subcollectors of the said warde of Bowthum.
Thomas Lyster hosier	
Bryan Teismond shomaker	

WARDURA DE WALMEGATE CUM POSTERNA DE
CASTELGATE PREDICTE CIVITATIS.

PAROCHIA OMNIUM SANCTORUM

SUPER PAVIMENTUM.

John Norman in goods 40l., inde Dño Regi	40s.	0d.
And so he is decayed by chaunce of y ^e see sens first leve 50l.		
Symon Vycars in goods 20l.	20s.	0d.
Richard Lamonby in goods 6l.	3s.	0d.
John Whityngham for his chylds porcon 8l.	4s.	0d.
William Herpar in goods 8l.	4s.	0d.
Emmote Cotes singylwoman in her chylds porcon 7l.	3s.	6d.
Thomas Abney in goods 20l.	20s.	0d.
Robert Westby in his chylds porcon 20l.	20s.	0d.
William Grayson in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
John Hogeson in goods 20l.	20s.	0d.
John Stiknam in goods 6l.	3s.	0d.
Cristofer Conyers in goods 16l.	8s.	0d.
Bryan Fawthorp in goods 7l.	3s.	6d.
Richard Carleton profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Thomas Shipton profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
William Appilgarth in goods 3l.		18d.
Thomas Clerk in goods 4 marks		16d.
Antony Welburne in goods 5 marks		20d.
John Herryson Doucheman profetts for wages 20s.		8d.
Robert Rychardson profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
William Robynson in goods 7l.	3s.	6d.
Barker wydo in goods 3l.		18d.
Robert Baynes in goods 4l.	2s.	0d.
William Corker profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Robert Grenewelle in goods 40s.		12d.
Alexander Kent profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Robert Parisshe profetts for wages 20s.		4d.

William Hutchynson profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Peter Gilliott in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
The same Peter for Mawde Chambre porcion 10 marks	3s. 4d.
The said Peter for like porcion of Agnes Chambre	3s. 4d.
Cristofer Watts in goods 7l.	3s. 6d.
The same Cristofer for y ^e porcion of Isabell which is 15l.	7s. 6d.
Agar in goods 3l.	18d.
Lyster profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Nicholes Dykson profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
George Richardson preest and master of the Gylde of Corpus Christi of the said City hath in coffres money of y ^e said Gylde 20l.	20s. 0d.
Summa istius Parochie . . . 11l. 3s. 10d.	

PAROCHIA SCI MICHS AD FINEM PONTIS USE.

John Beirby in goods 40 marks	26s. 8d.
John Geldard in goods 30l.	30s. 0d.
Thomas Dawson in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
John Roger in goods 300 marks	10l. 0s. 0d.
William Wylson in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
and he is decayed sens y ^e first leve by reason of . . .	
Robert Ekrylton in goods 6l.	3s. 0d.
Bryan Lorde in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
y ^e same Bryan for y ^e porcion of John Middylton y ^e whiche amownetith unto 30l.	30s. 0d.
John Esyngwold in goods 40s.	12d.
William Thikpenny in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
Robert Cradefort profett for wages 20s.	4d.
John Strynger in goods 15l.	7s. 6d.
William Garth in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Nicholson in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
John Gaw in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
John Smithson profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Richard Olyf in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
George Flemyng in goods 40s.	12d.
John St in goods 6l.	3s. 0d.
Thomas Glasyn in goods 7l.	3s. 6d.
Antony Allan in goods 10 marks	40d.
John Wright tailor profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
John Wright cowpar in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
Richard Bayteman in goods 40 marks	6s. 8d.
William Richardson profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
William Cuks profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Richard Morgan profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Myles Gilbank profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Austeyn Gobcroft profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Cristofer Tomson profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
John Horne profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Richard Savage profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
William Watson in goods 10l.	5s. 0d.
Hewe Bustyng in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
George Keld in goods 40s.	12d.

John Lewes tailor in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Staveley yonger in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Summa istius Parochie	22 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> . 10 <i>d</i> .

PAROCH' BTE MARIE IN CASTELGATE.

John Marshall in goods 40 <i>l</i> ., inde Dño Regi	40 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
the same John for y ^e porcion of William Wylson the whiche is 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
the foresaid John for the porcion of Agnes Wilson whiche is like summe of 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Henlayk in goods 10 marks	3 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Williamson in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Shereburne in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
John Thornteton in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Margarett Foxgyll wydo in goods 10 marks	3 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
The same Margaret for the porcion of William Foxgyll her son the whiche is 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
The forsaid Margaret for like porcion of 5 <i>l</i> . of John Foxgyll	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
John Watson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Carleton profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Peirson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Myghel Bynks profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Wilson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
James Clarke profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Edward Bek profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Herry Mawer profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Richard Hudson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Elizabeth Hansman wydo in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Nunes in goods 15 <i>l</i> .	7 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Summa istius Parpchie	5 <i>l</i> .	10 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> .

PAROCH' Bñ PETRI P'ñ. (i.e. prope Muros).

Thomas Brax in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Roger Geggs in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Agnes Geggs wydo in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Jakson in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Goodebarne in lands 20 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Ebden in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Geggs in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Richard Rogerson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Browne profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Sharp profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Kirkby in goods 6 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Carleton in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Luff profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Stanebank in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Summa istius Parochie	56 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .

PAROCHIA Sñi SAMPSONIS.

John Rasyng in goods 40 <i>l</i> .	40 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
James Blads in goods 16 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .

and he is dec[ayed] sens y^e first leve by reason of offices
y^e he hath borne wⁱⁿ the said city 10*l*.

John Colyer in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Jonson in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
The same Robert for y ^e child's porcion of Jennet Dobytsen singylwoman the whiche is 4 <i>l</i> .		
Rauf Symson in goods 20 marks	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Dogeson in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Herry Boyne in goods 20 marks	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Harryson in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
John Eryngton in goods 3 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Kateren Turduff wydo in goods 6 <i>l</i> .	18 <i>d</i> .	
Robert Eldon in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Marshruder in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
William Groves in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Bold in goods 10 marks	12 <i>d</i> .	
John Crosby in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
John Watson in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .	
John Lenge in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Teisdayle profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
William Copeland in wages 40 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .	
William Carleton servant to y ^e said John Colyer in wages 20 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .	
Robert Tomlynson servant to Rauf Symson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .	
The said Kateren Turduff hath a child's porcion in her hands the whiche is 40 <i>s</i> .		
Summa istius Parochie	7 <i>l</i> .	10 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .
Summa Totalis predictae posterne de Castelgate supradictae	49 <i>l</i> .	6 <i>s</i> . 10 <i>d</i> .

William Wylson fyshmonger	} Subcollectors.
John Geggs Bower	
John Styknam Tailor	

PAROCH' S^CE CRUCIS IN FORSEGAITE.

Thomas Burton in goods 30 <i>l</i> .	30 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Peter Jakson in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
He is dec' sens the first leve by the losse of his goods of y ^e see 20 <i>l</i> .		
Herry Holme in goods 40 marks	26 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Thorneton in goods 8 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Edward Coynging the servant in wages 4 marks	16 <i>d</i> .	
Rauf Langley in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Herry Sawnderson in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Peter Ledayle in goods 8 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Todde in goods 6 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Bolton in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Henry Vance servant to the said Robert in wages 23 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .	
John Newton servant to y ^e abovesaid John Todde in wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .	
William Day in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .

Cristofer Emondson in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Smyth in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Hamshawe n goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Rauf Elwik in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d</i> .
Charles Wedderall in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Walshworth in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Paycock in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Welburne profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Brodds in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Alex Maughen in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Lowes shereman in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d</i> .
George Holme in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Michelson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Robert Peirey in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d</i> .
Richard Ratclyff profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Trodbek in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Chace profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Belwyk in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Nicholson cordyner in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Wylson cordyner profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Carpmell in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Richard Taillour in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Richard Foster in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William servant to y ^e said Richard in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Mawde Shawe wydo in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Cowell in wages 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Agnes Gilbank wydo in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Agnes Harbottell wydo in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Harbottell for his child's porcion 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Rauf Harbottell in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Jamys Thorne profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Taillour in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
William Nicholson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Watson in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Herry Williamson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Richard Wright in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Peter Robynson in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
John Shawe in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Edward Barton in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Agnes Rede wydo in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Bossall in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Margarett Williamson wydo in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Nycholson glover in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Dobson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Symson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Jonson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Agnes Bell wydo in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Isabell Lewty wydo in lands 20 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Weddell in goods 6 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Laurens Mallom in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Lulley in goods 10 marks	3 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
John Prynce in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .

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Herry Rayce for his child's porcion 3 <i>l</i> .	18 <i>d</i> .
El-abeth Rayce for her child's porcion 3 <i>l</i> .	18 <i>d</i> .
Rauf Langley maister of the Gylde of Saynt Cristofer & saint George of the City of York for good Detts of 20 <i>l</i> .	
owyng to the same Gylde	20 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
Summa istius Parochie	13 <i>l</i> . 17 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> .

PAROCH' SCI DIONISII.

Robert Petty in goods 80 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>l</i> .	0 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Jakson in goods 6 <i>l</i> .		3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Grethede in goods 5 marks			20 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Sutton profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
Richard Northyn in wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
William Wylde profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
Jamys Dobynson in goods 4 <i>l</i> .		2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Gibbon profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
William Sawyer in goods 4 <i>l</i> .		2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Frenas in goods 40 <i>s</i> .			12 <i>d</i> .
John Brigham profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
John Symson in goods 4 <i>l</i> .		2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Breer in goods 3 <i>l</i> .			18 <i>d</i> .
John Clifton profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
Richard Runkhorne in goods 4 <i>l</i> .		2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Copeland profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
William Maltby in goods 3 <i>l</i> .			18 <i>d</i> .
John Neilson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .			12 <i>d</i> .
Jamys Jonson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
William Thursley in goods 40 <i>s</i> .			12 <i>d</i> .
William Hill baker in goods 40 <i>s</i> .			12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Messynger in goods 4 <i>l</i> .		2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Nycholson in goods 5 <i>l</i> .		2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
William Holme in goods 5 <i>l</i> .		2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Ledayle in goods 3 <i>l</i> .			18 <i>d</i> .
Robert Plaskett in goods 5 <i>l</i> .		2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Thorppe profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Bovell in goods 40 <i>s</i> .			12 <i>d</i> .
Richard Archer in goods 40 <i>s</i> .			12 <i>d</i> .
John Williamson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
William Hill tapitor in goods 6 <i>l</i> .		3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Adam Selybarne in goods 40 <i>s</i> .			12 <i>d</i> .
Ellyn Lowe wydo in goods 40 <i>s</i> .			12 <i>d</i> .
John Haliday in lands 3 <i>l</i> .		3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Browne servant to Robert Petty in wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
John Brokden servant to William Hill in wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
John Hype profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .			4 <i>d</i> .
John Jeffrayson profetts for wages 33 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .			7 <i>d</i> .
Elsabeth Talbott wydo in lands 5 <i>l</i> .		5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
George Lorymer in lands 40 <i>s</i> .		2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Summa istius Parochie	6 <i>l</i> .	12 <i>s</i> .	7 <i>d</i> .

PAROCH' SCE MARGARETE.

John North in goods 40 marks	26s.	8d.
Robert Elmeslay in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
Roger Annatson in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
Robert Ughtrede in goods 40s.		12d.
Robert Faucett in goods 40s.		12d.
John Dalby profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Robert Dene in goods 40s.		12d.
William Pawlyn in lands 40s.	2s.	0d.
Johanna Rawlyng wydo in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
John Sandwath in goods 40s.		12d.
Miles Haxby profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
John Jakson in goods 5 marks		20d.
Guy Amy profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Alexander Tomson in wages 40s.		12d.
John Lounesdayle in goods 40s.		12d.
Richard Lepyngton profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Richard Browneyng profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Robert Rilay profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
William Sclater profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Summa istius Parochie	51s.	2d.

PAROCHIA Bti PETRI IN LEZ WILLOS.

John Baron in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
Margarett Symson wydo in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
John Awkeland in lands 40s.	2s.	0d.
John Sellarar in goods 0l.	5s.	0d.
Nicholas Fysshier in goods 40s.		12d.
Robert Smyth profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Summa istius Parochie	18s.	4d.

PAROCH' SANCTORUM EDWARDI LAURENCIJ ET OMNIUM SANCTORUM IN
FISSEGAITE.

Nicholes Ratclyff in lands 5l.	5s.	0d.
Thomas Mason servant to the seid Nicholes in wages 20s.		4d.
Richard Essylwodde in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
Richard Foster profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Agnes Feron wido in goods 4l.	2s.	0d.
Thomas Awkeland profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Thomas Clerk profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Robert Sticknam in wages 20s.		4d.
Richard Shereburne in goods 3l.		18d.
William Arrondayle profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
John Bog profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Richard Tomlynson in goods 4l.	2s.	0d.
Miles Foster in goods 7l.	3s.	6d.
Robert Smyrthuayte in goods 40s.		12d.
Richard Clerk profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
William Bawderby profetts for wages 20s.		4d.

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Thomas Granger in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Slec profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Summa istius Parochie	24s. 4d.
Summa Totalis predicte Warde de Walmegate	25l. 3s. 7d.
John North tanner	} Subcollectors of the seid Warde of Walmegate.
William Day cordyner	
Robert Elmeslay cordyner	
Summa Totalis predicte Warde de Walmegate } cum predicta Posterna de Castelgate.	74l. 10s. 5d.

MONK WARDE DICTE CIVITATIS.

PAROCHIA SÇE TRINITATIS IN CURIA REGIS.

Richard Hutchonson in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
The same Richard for a child's porcion in his hands the which is 12l.	6s. 0d.
William Huby in goods 40l.	40s. 0d.
Thomas Baly in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
William Eryngton in goods 40l.	40s. 0d.
Thomas Toon in goods 30l.	30s. 0d.
John Barwik his servant in wages 20s.	4d.
William Dawson his servant in wages 20s.	4d.
Wydo Dowson in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
Johanna Spark wydo in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
Mawde Chapman in wages 20s.	4d.
William Hey in goods 3l.	18d.
Thomas Mason in goods 3l.	18d.
Thomas Knayton in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
Symon Bolton his servant in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Margery Slotheman in goods 40s.	12d.
Jeffray Williamson in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
John Rychardson in goods 33l. 6s. 8d.	33s. 4d.
William Bachelor in goods 10l.	5s. 0d.
Thomas Wright in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
Richard Webster in goods 3l.	18d.
Thomas Chadwyk in goods 40s.	12d.
William Man in goods 16l.	8s. 0d.
William Agar in goods 40l.	40s. 0d.
Richard Foxgale in goods 10l.	5s. 0d.
William Cullyng in goods 40s.	12d.
William Holdesworth in goods 40s.	12d.
Peter Grey in goods 40s.	12d.
John Lee in goods 3l.	18d.
Leonard Jonson in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
Cristofer Colson in wages 20s.	4d.
John Watson in wages 20s.	4d.
John Caldbek in goods 40s.	12d.
John Rok in goods 40s.	12d.
Robert Foxgale in goods 40s.	12d.
Robert Hill in goods 40s.	12d.

Wydo Colson in wages 20s.	4d.
John Allanby in goods 40s.	12d.
Nicholes Harryngton in wages 20s.	4d.
Thomas Bramley in goods 40s.	12d.
Pattrick Knight in goods 40s.	12d.
John Burton in goods 40s.	12d.
Hewe Maxwell in wages 20s.	4d.
Summa istius Parochie—15l. 0s. 12d.	

PAROCHIA SÇE TRINITATIS IN GOTHERUMGATE.

Thomas Jameson in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
Thomas Goddeshalle in goods 20 marks	6s.	8d.
Roger Chambre in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
John Pollard in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
William Webster in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
William Helme in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
Hewe Ryg in goods 40s.		12d.
John Hewson in goods 40s.		12d.
Cristofer Tomson in goods 40s.		12d.
Cristofer Allanson in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
William Mowbrey in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
John Bisshop in goods 40s.		12d.
William Baxster in goods 40s.		12d.
Robert Jenkyason in goods 40s.		12d.
William Crathorn in goods 40s.		12d.
John Bell in goods 40s.		12d.
Nicholes Chambre in wages 20s.		4d.
Johanna Croludson in wages 20s.		4d.
Thomas Mason in wages 20s.		4d.
Summa istius Parochie—45s. 8d.		

PAROCH' SÇI CUTHBERTI.

Thomas Knapton in wages 20s.	4d.
Summa istius Parochie—4d.	

PAROCH' BTE MARIE IN LAYTHORPE.

John Olyff in wages 20s.	4d.
Thomas Rasebek in wages 20s.	4d.
Summa istius Parochie—8d.	

PAROCH' BŦI JOHANNIS DE LE PYKE.

Thomas Levenyng in wages 20s.	4d.
Antony Mountney in wages 20s.	4d.
Edward Darwentwater in wages 20s.	4d.
John Heubank in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
William Lowrans in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Rolland Crage in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.

William Sydburroo in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
John Hustwyk in wages 20s.	4d.
Herry Felle in wages 20s.	4d.
John Tindayle in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Thomas Clerk in wages 20s.	4d.
Thomas Dobson in wages 20s.	4d.
William Trewe in wages 20s.	4d.
John Foxgale in wages 20s.	4d.
Trestram Tesshe in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
Robert Beisley his servant in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Stephen Melle in goods 6l.	3s. 0d.
Herry Smyth in goods 10l.	5s. 0d.
Thomas Baker in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
John Milner in goods 40s.	12d.
Robert Lorans in goods 40s.	12d.
Nicholes Raynald in wages 20s.	4d.
Stephen Whenffell in wages 20s.	4d.
Thomas Wilkynson in wages 20s.	4d.
Gilbert Dode in wages 20s.	4d.
Thomas Parke in wages 20s.	4d.
Robert Wyldon servant to Mr. Stanceby in wages 20s.	4d.
Martyn Wardeman servant to Mr. Tesshe in wages 20s.	4d.
William Dawson in wages 20s.	4d.
Wydo Robynson in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
Wydo White in lands 26s. 8d.	16d.

Summa istius Parochie—45s.

PAROCH' S^{ci} SALVATORIS.

Mr. Doctor Spencer in goods 10l.	5s. 0d.
Johanna Rychardson in goods 40s.	12d.
Edward Gurnald in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Sydez in wages 20s.	4d.
Robert Stabell in goods 40s.	12d.
John Morthyng in goods 40s.	12d.
John Herryson in goods 40s.	12d.
Herry Garnett in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
John Rychardson in goods 40s.	12d.
John Hebdale in wages 20s.	4d.
John Herryson in goods 40s.	12d.
Isabell Vertee in goods 40s.	12d.
Alexander Leke in wages 20s.	4d.
Richard Symson in wages 20s.	4d.
William Robson in wages 26s. 8d.	6d.
Roger Shawe in goods 3l.	18d.
Alice Clyff in wages 20s.	4d.
Margaret Prynce in goods 40s.	12d.
William Dikson in wages 20s.	4d.
Edward White in wages 20s.	4d.
John Umfreyson in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.
John Screvyn in goods 10l.	5s. 0d.
Richard Gurnard in goods 20l.	20s. 0d.

Richard Dawtres in wages 5 <i>l.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
William Tullyell servant to Undereson in wages 3 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
Cristofer Halle servant to Gerard in wages 5 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>
Summa istius Parochie—3 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i>	

PAROCHIA SANCTE MARTINE.

John Smyth tanner in goods 40 <i>l.</i>	40 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
William Jenson in goods 10 <i>l.</i>	5 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
Thomas Hunter in goods 8 <i>l.</i>	4 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
Wydo Launce in goods 5 <i>l.</i>	2 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
John Mason in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
John Stancety in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
John Walker in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
Roger Wallis in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
John Wallis in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
John Smyth in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
John Rychardson in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
William Myles in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
John Halle in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
John Stephenson in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Robert Hirst in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
William Brydge in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Thomas Grenebank in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
George Godson in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Thomas Langthorn in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Rolland Cony for too children's porcion 5 <i>l.</i>	2 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
Summa istius Parochie—3 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>		

PAROCH' SANCTE ANDREE.

Edmond Wallis in goods 40 <i>s.</i>	12 <i>d.</i>
William Chambre glover in goods 40 <i>s.</i>	12 <i>d.</i>
Wilfride Pynder in goods 10 marks	3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
William Vycars in lands 3 <i>l.</i>	3 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Herry Colson in wages 20 <i>s.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
The same Herry for a child's porcion of 40 <i>s.</i>	12 <i>d.</i>
Rychard Tyson in goods 40 <i>s.</i>	12 <i>d.</i>
Richard Wilkynson in wages 20 <i>s.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
Jamys Harland in wages 20 <i>s.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
Olyver Walton in wages 20 <i>s.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
William Marshall in wages 20 <i>s.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
Nicholas Girdlyngton in wages 20 <i>s.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
Summa istius Parochie—12 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	

PAROCHIA SANCTE ELENE AD MUROS.

Wydo Fraderyk in goods 40 <i>s.</i>	12 <i>d.</i>
Murgery Donnoo wydo in lands 10 marks	6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Charles Clerk in goods 40 <i>s.</i>	12 <i>d.</i>
John Ashby in goods 5 marks	20 <i>d.</i>

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John Herpar in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Mathewe Garstell in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Bacon in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Alexander Watson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Davy in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Roger Horley in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Wilson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Ryddesdall in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .

Summa istius Parochie—16*s*.Summa Totalis de Monke Warde predicta—27*l*. 10*s*. 5*d*.

Thomas Goddeshalfe Chandler	}	Sub-collectors of Monke Warde afforseid.
Richard Foxgale bocher		
William Hay girdler		

WARDURA DE MYKELLYTH CUM POSTERNA DE NORTH
STRETE.PAROCHIA S^{ci} NI^{chi} IN MAGNO VICO.

John Dogeson in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Mason in goods 30 <i>l</i> .	30 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
A servant of the same Thomas in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Peircy Gent. in lands 8 marks	5 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Shawe in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Wydo Whitehede in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Isabell Yates in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Lamyman in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Suttell in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Wydo Davy in goods 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Rodemelle in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Margaret Symson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Taillour in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Katheryn Faree in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Hamylton in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Wydo Cotes in goods 16 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Cristofer Hessylwodde in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Richard Lynsey in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Colman in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Lupton in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Walton in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Vidua Bewe in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Johanna Cristoferson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Richard Schlater in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Walter Burnett in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Scayff in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Saver in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Gylle in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Scayls in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Bolton in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Tyler in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Herry Wright plomer in goods 16 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Hewbank in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .

Margaret Speght in goods 16 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Morresby in goods 18 <i>l</i> .	9 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Plewman in goods 20 marks .	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Sclater profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
James Toller in goods 8 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Symon Hawton in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Halle in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Cuthbert Smyth in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Nycholson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Dawson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Cristofer Rychardson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Wydo Barker in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Smyth in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
James Herpham in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Kilburne in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Johanna Biggyn in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Ridlyngton in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Roger Conk in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Huntclyff in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Stephen Foxgate servant w ^t y ^e seid Dawson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Huton glover in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Chamlan in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Scott in wages 30 <i>s</i> .		6 <i>d</i> .

Summa istius Parochie—6*l*. 9*s*. 2*d*.

PAROCHIA BTE MARIE VETERIS.

William Neleson gent. in goods 40 marks .	26 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Richard Langton gent. in lands 10 marks .	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Staveley in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Edmond Redeman in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Calverley in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Graunge in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Nixon in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Simon Michell in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Robert Hornclyff in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Been in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Been in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Wydo Poynter in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Payver in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Lowson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .

Summa istius Parochie—38*s*. 8*d*.

PAROCH' BTE MARIE SUPER MONTEM EPI.

Wydo Constable in lands 12 <i>l</i> .	12 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Blomer in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Edward Vykerman in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Richard Pynder in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Edmonson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Robert Sclater in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Conk in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .

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Agnes Bollyng in goods 40s.	12d.
John Rudby in goods 40s.	12d.
John Walker in goods 40s.	12d.
John Mylner in wages 20s.	4d.
John Atkynson in wages 20s.	4d.
Summa istius Paroch'—23s.	

PAROCHIA SCI GREGORII.

John Caldbek in goods 4l.	2s.	0d.
John Blakey in wages 20s.		4d.
Richard Esshby in goods 3l.		18d.
William Goldesmyth vyntner in goods 40s.		12d.
George Churcheman in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
Thomas Garnett in goods 40s.		12d.
John Story in wages 20s.		4d.
John Huntyngham in wages 20s.		4d.
John Myrns in wages 20s.		4d.
John Lucas in wages 20s.		4d.
Summa istius Parochie—9s. 8d.		

PAROCHIA SCI MARTINI IN MAGNO VICO SUPRADICTI.

John Ellys in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
John Mason in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
John Bachelor in goods 20 marks	6s.	8d.
William Pennington in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
William Pulley in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
William Godson in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
Thomas Wartyrer in goods 40s.		12d.
Richard Trewe in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
Cristofer Nevyle in goods 40s.		12d.
Guy Neleson in goods 40s.		12d.
John Tomson in goods 40s.		12d.
Richard Gybson in goods 40s.		12d.
Robert Wilkynson in wages 20s.		4d.
John Watson servant to Wilkynson in wages 20s.		4d.
Summa istius Parochie—34s. 10d.		

PAROCH' OMNIUM SANCTORUM IN NORTH STRETE.

John Hall in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
Herry Derson in goods 20l.	20s.	0d.
Richard Halle in goods 20 marks	6s.	8d.
John Newby in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
Adam Atkynson in goods 10 marks	3s.	4d.
William Lorans in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
Thomas Smyth in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
Richard Morresby in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.

William Tomson in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
John Barnes in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d</i> .
William Bailton in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Lannesdayle in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Collyngwodde in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Cleuston in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Clerk in goods 10 marks	3 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Summa istius Parochie—3 <i>l</i> . 18 <i>d</i> .		

PAROCHIA SŪI JOHIS IUXTA PONTEM USE.

William Barker in goods 30 <i>l</i> .	30 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Thornton in goods 60 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>l</i> .	0 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Whitfield in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
James Shipton in lands 8 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Herry Wodde in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Bryan Bradeley in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Middleton in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Lee in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Robert Carlile in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Cristofer Clerk in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d</i> .
Rolland Conny in goods 18 <i>l</i> .	9 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Warde in goods 6 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Braithwate in goods 6 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Wright in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Plasket in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
William Morgan in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Gate in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Custance in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Robynson in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Cuthbert Birtbek in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Fletcher in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
George Ledale in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
John Shipton in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Herry Morres in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Wilkynson in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert White in lands 4 marks	2 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Richard Tomson in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Bek in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Herry Cartwright in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Faceby in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .

Summa istius Parochie—10*l*. 2*s*. 4*d*.

Summa Totalis de Mikylleth Warde cum }
 North strete postern } 24*l*. 19*s*. 2*d*.

Robert Carlile lyster	} Sub-collectors of Mikyllyth warde and North strete postern afforseid
Thomas Shawe	
William Laurence tylemaker	
William Blewmar	

Summa Totalis oim Wardur' and Postern' dicte Civitatis—191*l*. 19*s*. 8½*d*.

WAPENTAGIU' DE LE AINSTY QUOD EST LIBERTAS PRE-
NOMINATE CIVITATIS EBOR'.

VILLATA DE ACASTRESELBY.

Richard Beilby in goods 10 <i>l.</i> , inde Dño Regi	5 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
George Wolff servant to y ^e same Richard in wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Robert Peirson in goods 5 <i>l.</i>	2 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
William Bikerton in goods 3 <i>l.</i>		18 <i>d.</i>
John Gibson in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d.</i>
Robert Kendall in goods 3 <i>l.</i>		18 <i>d.</i>
William Sproxton in goods 3 <i>l.</i>		18 <i>d.</i>
Richard Jinckyn profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Robert Hartley in goods 4 marks		16 <i>d.</i>
Cristofer Colynson in goods 3 <i>l.</i>		18 <i>d.</i>
William Michell in goods 3 <i>l.</i>		18 <i>d.</i>
Cristofer Sawneder in goods 3 <i>l.</i>		18 <i>d.</i>
John Kendall in goods 4 <i>l.</i>	2 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
John Bekwith in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
John Peirson in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
Jamys Hudson profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
John Eslyngton profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
William Goodyer profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Rauff Camsall profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Robert Esyngwold in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
William Smyth profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Summa istius Villate—26 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>		

VILLATA DE APPYLTON.

George Battersby in goods 18 <i>l.</i>	9 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
Robert Broket in goods 16 <i>l.</i>	8 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
George Godson in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d.</i>
William Cowpar in goods 5 <i>l.</i>	2 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
Robert Marshall in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
John Tomson in goods 40 <i>s.</i>		12 <i>d.</i>
Cristofer Bolton profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
John Plompton profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
John Smyth in goods 4 <i>l.</i>	2 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
Robert Fletcher profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
William Aynger profetts for wages 20 <i>s.</i>		4 <i>d.</i>
Summa istius Villate—26 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>		

VILLATA DE STETON.

William Fairefax Esquyer in lands 40 marks	26 <i>s.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>
Summa—26 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>		

VILLATA DE BOLTON PEIRCY.

Robert Cokett in goods 20 <i>l.</i>	20 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
Thomas Mawe in goods 20 <i>l.</i>	20 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>

Thomas Gibson in goods 3 <i>l</i> .	18 <i>d</i> .
William Tuke in goods 3 <i>l</i> .	18 <i>d</i> .
John Shawe in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
John Levet in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
William Bene in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
Percyvalle Ellyson in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Jeffrayson in goods 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
William Kendalle in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .
John Doughty in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
Summa istius Villate—3 <i>l</i> . 19 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .	

VILLAT' DE OXTON CUM CATTERTON.

Jamys Herryson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Marshall in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
Richard Graunge in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
John Herryson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Herry Bachelor in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
John Jakson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
Nicholas Darley in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
William Smyth in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
Stephen Walker in goods 3 <i>l</i> .	18 <i>d</i> .
John Smyth in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
Summa istarum ijarum Villat'—9 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> .	

VILLATA DE ASKAM BRYAN.

Robert Hutchonson in goods 3 <i>l</i> .	18 <i>d</i> .
John Walles in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
William Lightfoote in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
John Cotes in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
Richard Symkynson in goods 6 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
John Day in goods 3 <i>l</i> .	18 <i>d</i> .
John Cawodde in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Carbott in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Chapman in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Cawodde in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
Luke Jybbe in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .
John Ostayne in goods 40 <i>s</i> .	12 <i>d</i> .
William Walles profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
John Milner profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Cawodde profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
John Marshall profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Herry Whenby profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Harnes profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Summa istius Villate—33 <i>s</i> . 10 <i>d</i> .	

VILLA DE MIDDELTHORPE.

Herry Wright in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
Wydo Mooreton in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
Herry Clerk servant to the seid Wydo in wages 20 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .

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William Horncliff in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Carter in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
William Wright in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Burne profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Summa hujus Ville—10 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> .		

VILLA DE ASKAM RICHARD.

John Chared' in goods 6 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Swayle in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Fox thelder in goods 8 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Fox yonger in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Rauff Hope in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Cawodde in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
John Bykerton in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Robert Herryson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Edward Fox in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Herry Cavard profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Sweerer in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Neilson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Summa hujus Ville—18 <i>s</i> . 10 <i>d</i> .		

VILLA DE ACASTREMAVYS.

Robert Fairfax gent. in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
John Tankerd in lands 20 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Herry Mooreton in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d</i> .
William Smyth in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Spacy profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Thornton in goods 16 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Jakson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Fereman profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Murton profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Michelson in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Goodyere in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Wilkynson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Isabell Newsom wydo in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
William Mawneby in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Stephen Watson in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Kirkby in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d</i> .
Herry Mason in wages 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Tomson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Smyth in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Robert Wilkynson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Fawbarne in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
John Wilkynson in goods 10 marks	3 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
William Hutchonson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Mawneby in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
John Murton in goods 16 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Chapman for his child's porcion 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Alice Chapman for like porcion of 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .

John Myrus servant to John Murton in wages 20s.	4d.
William Smyth profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Isabell Bittynson profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Summa hujus Ville—3l. 3s.	

VILLATA DE BISSHOPTHORPE.

John Wilson in goods 8l.	4s.	0d.
Thomas Dykson in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
Nicholes Willson in goods 40s.		12d.
John Barker profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Summa istius Villate—7s. 10d.		

VILLATA DE THORPARCHE.

Cristofer Gillyot in goods 20l.	20s.	0d.
George Atterton in goods 10 marks	3s.	4d.
Robert Rowley in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
Richard Scott in goods 5l.	2s.	6d.
Robert Clerk in goods 46s. 8d.		14d.
John Scott in goods 40s.		12d.
Thomas Cornyll in goods 3l.		18d.
Elsabeth Bartlet in goods 40s.		12d.
Agnes Scott profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Alexander Braine profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
John Clerk profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Cristofer Symson profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Richard Rychardson profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
John Grene profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
William Robynson in goods 40s.		12d.
Richard Adenet profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Summa istius Villate—36s. 4d.		

DRYNGHOUSE.

Thomas Smyth in goods 4l.	2s.	0d.
Walter Marshall in goods 5 marks		20d.
John Batman in goods 40s.		12d.
Richard Corbryge in goods 4l.	2s.	0d.
Richard Donnynghon in goods marks		20d.
Herry Scaffurth in goods 40s.		12d.
William Gayrstang profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Richard Whytterwell profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Thomas Stayneton profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Rauff Lorymer profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Cristofer Day profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Herry Wright profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Summa hujus Ville—11s. 4d.		

COPMANTHORPE.

Vyncent Appubby in goods 10 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Murton in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
William Fetherston in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Murton in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Robert Myrus in goods 5 marks		20 <i>d</i> .
John Fenton in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Marshall in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Edward Hogeson in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Vavasour in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Summa hujus Ville—16 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> .		

VILLA DE COWTON.

John Carrok in goods 8 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
John Riley in goods 8 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Scisson in goods 8 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Wayde in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Margaret Cawodde for her child's porcion 10 marks	3 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Richard Howsman thelder profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Herry Notyngham in goods 18 <i>l</i> .	9 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Vidyll in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Hyll in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Fraunces Smyth profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Marshall profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Alman profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Ledes profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Robert Wade profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Richard Howsman yonger profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Summa hujus Ville—31 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> .		

VILLA DE BILBURGH.

Margaret Norton wydo in lands 10 <i>l</i> .	10 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Cristofer Norton in lands 10 <i>l</i> .	10 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Whitehawce in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Herry Byng in goods 6 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Herpar in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Carrok in goods 16 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard Notyngham in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Richard Tuke for his child's porcion 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Smyth in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Jeffrayson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Coke in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
William Kettylwell in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Summa hujus Ville—45 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .		

VILLA DE HELAGH.

William Browne in goods 40s.	12d.
William Ronlesley in goods 40s.	12d.
George Bentley in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Funtaunce in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Hewe in goods 3l.	18d.
Thomas Bettonson in goods 40s.	12d.
John Symkynson in goods 40s.	12d.
William Smyth in goods 40s.	12d.
Herry Wright profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
Robert Funtance in goods 40s.	12d.
Summa hujus Ville—9s. 10d.	

VILLA DE WIGHALL.

Cristofer Stapylton esquier in lands 80l.	4l.	0s.	0d.
William Bayne in goods 4l.		2s.	0d.
William Lawe in goods 3l.			18d.
Lionell Hughley in goods 3l.			18d.
Richard Wright in goods 3l.			18d.
William Burgh in goods 3l.			18d.
William Carre in goods 3l.			18d.
Thomas Mawneby in goods 3l.			18d.
Thomas Freman in lands 20s.			12d.
Robert Hawkyn profetts for wages 20s.			4d.
Frauncis Metcalf in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Richard Alale in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
John Lelom' in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Richard Bradeley in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
John Cotes in wages 26s.			6d.
William Hakforth in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
David Carados in wages 26s. 8d.			6d.
Edmond Cotes in wages 20s.			4d.
George Wyld in wages 20s.			4d.
Herry Pert in wages 20s.			4d.
Summa hujus Ville—4l. 16s. 10d.			

VILLA DE WALTON.

Dame Anne Fairfax wydo in lands 20l.	20s.	0d.
John Walker in goods 3l.		18d.
William Ellys in goods 40s.		12d.
Robert Farand in goods 10l.	5s.	0d.
Richard Hewe in goods 40s.		12d.
William Shastun in goods 40s.		12d.
Lyonell Cowper profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
William Snay lecher in goods 40s.		12d.
Richard Jakson profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
John Chamb' in goods 40s.		12d.
Thomas Thirlthorp profetts for wages 20s.		4d.
Summa hujus Ville—32s. 6d.		

VILLA DE ACOME.

Thomas Newark in lands 20 <i>l</i> .	20 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Elsabeth Newark in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Metcalf in lands 3 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Guy Spacy in lands 3 <i>l</i> .	3 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Prynce in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Robert Newpayle profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Herry Swayle in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
William Russell in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
George Gylle in goods 10 marks	3 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Vesey in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Monkton in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Swayle profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
George Scadlok in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Scadlok for his child's porcion 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Agnes Clayton profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Richard Holgate in lands 5 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Bartylmewe Herryson profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
John Watt profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Summa hujus Ville—51 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> .		

VILLA DE HOLLEGATE.

Thomas Hutchonson in goods 18 <i>l</i> .	9 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert Pallessor in goods 20 marks	6 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Guy Lorymer in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Cristofer Burdux in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Jamys Toone in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Herry Cowper in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
[Summa hujus Ville]—21 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> .		

[VILL' DE] FOORDE AND ACOMERANGE.

Katheryne W...ett wydo in lands 40 <i>s</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Robert P..... in goods 19 <i>l</i> .	9 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert S...ton in goods 8 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Richard ...pton in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Richard ...bey in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Richard Ca[tarto]n thelder in goods 3 <i>l</i> .		18 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Whitehaue profetts for wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
William Catarton yonger in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Richard Day in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Cartwright in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .
Thomas Shipton in goods 5 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Robert Cartwright in goods 4 <i>l</i> .	2 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
William Ellysson in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Alice in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Thomas in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
Richard Ca[tarton] yonger in goods 40 <i>s</i> .		12 <i>d</i> .
John Catarton in wages 20 <i>s</i> .		4 <i>d</i> .

Robert Righton in wages 20s.	4s.
John Lunde in lands 26s. 8d.	16s.
Richard Marshall in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
Richard Chase w ^t Katheryne Wright in lands 4 marks	2s. 8d.
Guy Wright in lands 40s.	2s. 0d.
Robert Metcham Gent. in goods 40 marks	26s. 8d.
Summa harum ijarum Villarum—3l. 7s.	

VILLA DE MARSTON.

John Shau in goods 18l.	9s. 0d.
Thomas Spynk in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
John Knoll in wages 20s.	4d.
Richard Hill in goods 40s.	12d.
Thomas Hudson in goods 40s.	12d.
Thomas Ellysson in goods 3l.	18d.
John Hudson profetts for wages 30s.	7d.
John Fancehede in goods 40s.	12d.
John Ellysson in goods 40s.	12d.
William Nottingham in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
Edmond Gulles in goods 40s.	12d.
John Bachelor in goods 40s.	12d.
Mighell servant to y ^e underwittyn Mr. Thwatis in wages 20s.	4d.
William Taillour profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
William Brayn profetts for wages 20s.	4d.
William Thwaite thelder esquier in lands 42l.	42s. 0d.
William Thwaite yonger esquier in lands 10l.	10s. 0d.
Summa hujus Ville—3l. 14s. 11d.	

VILL' DE HUTON AND ANGRUM.

John Dighton in goods 10 marks	3s. 4d.
William Dighton in goods 3l.	18d.
Herry Whitehauc in goods 3l.	18d.
Herry Herpar in wages 20s.	4d.
Herry Acome in goods 40s.	12d.
Thomas Blyth in goods 40s.	12d.
John Nottingham in goods 40s.	12d.
William Blyth in goods 40s.	12d.
Thomas Hill in goods 4l.	2s. 0d.
William Tomson in goods 3l.	18d.
Alice Hill in goods 40s.	12d.
John Smith in goods 40s.	12d.
William Richardson in goods 40s.	12d.
Summa hujus Ville—17s. 2d.	

VILLA DE TOKWITH.

William Wilson in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Stayneburne in goods 40s.	12d.
John Carbott in goods 40s.	12d.
Summa hujus Ville—3s.	

WYLLYSTHORPE CUM SKIPBRYGLANE.

John Nelson in goods 5 marks, inde Dño Regi	20d.
Myles Appylgarth in goods 10l.	5s. 0d.
William Watson in goods 6l.	3s. 0d.
Bryan Richardson in goods 40s.	12d.
William Grey in goods 3l.	18d.
Rauff Nelson in goods 5 marks	20d.
Edmond Mudde in goods 4 marks	16d.
Summa harum ijarum Villarum—15s. 2d.	

VILL' DE MOREMONKTON CUM SKAGYLTHORPE.

Joseph Ughtrede in lands 5 marks	6s. 8d.
Herry Spynk in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
William Calverd in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
John North in goods 43s. 8d.	14d.
Richard Talwrey in goods 40s.	12d.
John Bambryge in goods 40s.	12d.
William Swyne in goods 40s.	12d.
Stephen Shepard in goods 40s.	12d.
Richard Scaylles in goods 40s.	12d.
John Carre in goods 40s.	12d.
Alice Marshall in goods 40s.	12d.
William Gray in wages 20s.	4d.
John Beilby gent. in lands 20l.	20s. 0d.
Summa harum ijarum Villarum—40s. 2d.	

VILLA DE HESSAY.

Robert Spynk in goods 40s.	12d.
Robert Notingham in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
William Marshall in goods 40s.	12d.
Bryan Marshall in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
William Notingham in goods 5l.	2s. 6d.
William Dighton in wages 20s.	4d.
Summa hujus Ville—9s. 10d.	

VILLATA DE OVERPOPYLTON.

Bryan Middelton in lands 10 marks	6s. 8d.
William Tomson in lands 30s.	18d.
John Herryson in goods 40s.	12d.
William Ham'ton in goods 40s.	12d.
William Spynk in goods 40s.	12d.
Robert Day in goods 40s.	12d.
Thomas Prynce in goods 20 marks	6s. 8d.
The same Thomas for a child's porcion of 40s.	12d.
Richard Lorymer in goods 40s.	12d.
John Conke in goods 20 marks	6s. 8d.
Summa hujus Villate—27s. 6d.	

VILLAT' DE NETHERPOPYLTON.

Thomas Franklane in lands 40s.	2s.	0
Isabell Franklane in lands 40s.	2s.	0
William Botre in goods 6l.	3s.	0
Robert Bland in goods 40s.		12
William Daylle in goods 3l.		18
Watter Wharom in goods 3l.		18
John Peally in goods 5l.	2s.	6
Robert Spynk in goods 5l.	2s.	6
Thomas Stabyll in wages 40s.		12
Robert Archer in wages 20s.		4
Richard Colson in wages 20s.		4
Summa istius Villate—17s. 8d.		

VILLA DE KNAPTON.

Richard Hobson in goods 3l.		18
John Webster in goods 4l.	2s.	0
John Hey in goods 40s.		12
William Wright in goods 4l.	2s.	0
William Monkton in goods 4l.	2s.	0
William Gill in goods 40s.		12
John Hewe in wages 20s.		4
William Hey in wages 20s.		4
John Carre in wages 20s.		4
Richard Scadlok for his child's porcion in the hands of John Webster 40s.		12
Summa hujus Ville—11s. 6d.		

VILLA DE BYLTON.

Seth Snawsell esquier in goods 40 marks	26s.	8
Thomas Gayton yonger in wages 20s.		4
Thomas Gayton thelder in wages 20s.		4
Richard Browue in wages 20s.		4
John Hogeson thelder in goods 40s.		12
Herry Jakson in goods 40s.		12
Thomas Bakhus in goods 40s.		12
Seth Hogeson in goods 40s.		12
Edmond Gypton in wages 20s.		4
John Beilby in wages 20s.		4
Summa hujus Ville—32s. 4d.		

VILLA DE BYKERTON.

Robert Stokes esquier in lands 40 marks	26s.	8
Richard Fletcher in goods 40s.		12
Richard Brignall in goods 40s.		12

James Gibson in goods 40s. 12*d*.
 John Warynell in goods 40s. 12*d*.

Summa hujus Ville—30*s*. 8*d*.

Summa Totalis predicti Wapentagij de le Ainsty—50*l*. 15*d*.

Robert Sedule	}	Sub-collectors of the seid Wapentyke of the Ainsty.
John Wilson		
John Shau		
Thomas Huchonson		

Summa Totalis istius Cedula Indentate—242*l*. 0*s*. 11½*d*.

This endenture made the 9th day of Aprill in the 5th yere of the reign of oure sovereign Lorde King Henry the 8th by the grace of god King of England and of Fraunce Defender of the Faith and Lorde of Irland betwixt the right worshipfull John Norman maier of the City of York Sr William Gascoigne Knight Recorder of the same John Dogeson Thomas Drawswerde John Halle William Wright Thomas Parkour Simon Vicars Thomas Burton William Barker Peter Jason Robert Wylde John Rasyng Thomas Mason Aldermen of the seid City James Blades and Richard Hutchonson Shiriffs of the forseid City and Commissioners for oure seid sovereign Lorde the King named and assigned by his commissyion Datyd at Hampton Courte the 30th day of August in the 15th yere of his reign within the seid City of York suburbes of the same and the Wapentyke of the Aynsty for the execucon of the Act of Subsidie graunted to oure seid sovereign Lorde in his last parliament of this present yere of that oone partie And John Mason Inholder John Umfreyson tapytour John Richardson paynter John Rayncok Cordyner Robert Cokkett and Thomas Prynce yomen named and appointed by the aboveseid Comissyioners to be High Collectors for our seid sovereign Lorde the King to ged levie and receyve all the Sommes of money assessed and due to His grace for the furst payment of the seid subsidie within the forseid City suburbes and the Wapentyke aboveseid of that other party Witnessith that the seid Comissyioners hath delyvered the day and yere above writtyn unto the aforenamed High Collectors a Cedula Indented whereof the oone part to the oone partye of this Indenture remanyng w^t the seid High Collectors And the other part of the seid Cedula remanyng w^t the seid Comissyioners is annexed in whiche Cedula Indented plainly is expressed and specified the particuler names and surnames of all persons chargeable to the seid Subsidie w^t the valuacon of their goodes and lands and the Sommes whereunto they and every oone of thaym be presented taxed and sessed dwellyng within the City aforeseid suburbes of the same and the Wapentyke of the Ainsty aboveseid. And of all sub-collectors and of all suche sommes of money in grosse as the seid sub-collectors particularly be charged within their Estrets reteinyng in your hands 6*d*. of every pownde for yours ours and sub-collectors Fees according to the seid Act the whiche charge and sommes of money the seid High Collectors shall truly accompt and make payment thereof unto the Kings Highnes at his Courte of Eschequar at Westmynster after the tenour of the forseid Act of parliament In witnes whereof to either parte of these Indenturez the seid Comissyioners hath putto their sealls and signe manuells the day and yere abovewrittyn.

(Endorsed) "Per manus Johannis Castell de Scaccario Domini Regis xxj. die Junij &c."

A MEMOIR OF JOHN CARR, ESQ., FORMERLY OF YORK,
ARCHITECT.

By the late ROBERT DAVIES, F.S.A.¹

JOHN CARR, of York, who passed more than fifty years of his life in that city in the exercise of his profession, was unquestionably one of the most eminent of the provincial architects of the eighteenth century. As a Yorkshireman by birth, he may justly claim a place among those Yorkshire worthies of whom biographical notices are given in the Journal of our Archæological and Topographical Association.

That Mr. Carr was born at the village of Horbury, near Wakefield, is a fact he has made widely known by the sumptuous manner in which in his latter days he chose to do honour to the place of his nativity. He was the son of Robert Carr, a stone-mason living at Horbury, and was baptized in the chapel of that place on the 15th of May, 1723. His mother's name was Rosa Lascelles, whose father is described as John Lascelles, esquire, upon her monumental tablet in Horbury church.

The son was brought up to his father's business, having received no better education than was usually afforded to the children of the working classes at that period. Up to the time of his quitting his native village, he was in regular employment as a journeyman stone-mason. It is said that in early life he married one of the domestics at Bretton Hall, where he was working, but the name of his wife has not transpired.

When Sir Lionel Pilkington was building a new park wall at Chevet, John Carr was one of the working masons, going

¹ The Council is indebted to Mrs. Davies for most cordially placing the MS. prepared by her lamented husband at its disposal. Written in the year 1874, it was left by its author almost ready for

the press, and the care with which the transcript for the printer has been prepared, under Mrs. Davies's direction, increases the obligation of our Association.

from Horbury to his work in a morning and returning in the evening ; and he was employed in a similar manner at Bretton Hall, the seat of the Beaumonts, in the same neighbourhood. A story is told of him, which shows the frugal habits he had acquired in his working days. When he went to his work on a Monday morning, and left his home for the week, he took with him a large meat-pie, made in a circular form, which he divided with compasses into six equal parts, so that he might secure one equal part for each day's dinner. Another anecdote of him at this period is worth relating. One summer's day he happened to be working in a stone quarry near Horbury, when two brothers of the name of Sykes, being on their way to the school at Thornhill, had to pass down Horbury-quarry-hill. Schoolboy-like, they loitered on the road, and strayed into the quarry in search of birds' nests, leaving the baskets containing their dinners snugly concealed, as they supposed, beneath a stone in the quarry. Their movements had not escaped the vigilant eye of Carr, and he took an opportunity of slyly adding to his own dinner from the contents of the schoolboys' basket, which were most probably of a more dainty quality than the homely fare provided for himself. In Carr's later life, when he had acquired wealth and fame, he would amuse his friends by telling of this youthful prank with great glee, and he would then speak of these as having been among his happiest days.

The earliest trace I have been able to discover of Carr's residence at York is in the year 1752, when he was about thirty years of age, but it seems probable that at that time he had been settled some years in the city.

A spring of beautiful water, bearing the ancient name of Pikeing-well, rises near the New Walk, about half way between the rivers Ouse and Foss, and the end of the walk. The well is inclosed within a rude nondescript sort of stone structure, having the appearance of an artificial ruin. On the 9th of July, 1752, the Corporation of York voted a sum of 88*l.* to be laid out in ornamenting Pikeing-well, which was to be paid to Mr. John Carr, who undertook to enclose the well with an ornamental building. The vote was accompanied with a stipulation that 25*l.* should be returned by Carr as the redemption money for his freedom of the city. The work was probably not immediately executed,

for it appears from the city register that Mr. Carr was not admitted a freeman until the year 1757. He is described in the inrolment as "Mr. John Carr, stone-cutter." He had not yet assumed the more ambitious title of 'architect.'

The first public building designed by Carr was "The Grand Stand" upon Knavesmire, the celebrated race-course near York, which was projected under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, the great patron of the turf in Yorkshire. The building was completed in the year 1754, and is generally admitted to be remarkably well adapted to its intended purpose. "On the ground-floor of the Stand are convenient offices and rooms for general accommodation; on the second story is a large handsome room with a projecting balustrade, the front of which is upwards of 90 feet in length, supported by a rustic arcade 15 feet high, from which the company enjoy a fine view of the races and the surrounding scenery."²

The skill and ingenuity displayed by Carr in the design and execution of the Grand Stand upon Knavesmire, brought him to the notice of the aristocracy, not only of Yorkshire, but of all the northern part of the kingdom, who were then in the habit of attending York races. We soon find his name associated with architectural works of greater importance. Previously to the year 1760, Heath Hall, near Wakefield, the residence of John Smyth, esquire; Arncliffe Hall in Cleveland, the mansion of Thomas Mauleverer, esquire; and Ravenfield Hall, near Rotherham, with a chapel there, had been erected from the designs and under the superintendence of Carr. The first stone of the splendid mansion of the noble family of Lascelles, now called Harewood House, was laid in March, 1759. It was reputed to have been built from the designs of Robert and James Adam, the architects of King George the Third, and well known as the brothers to whom the Adelphi Buildings in London owe their name. But the original plans and working drawings, which are now extant,³ show clearly that

² *History of the British Turf*; by J. C. Whyte, 2 vols. 8vo, vol. i. p. 354. It is stated in *Woolfe and Gandon's Vitruvius Britannicus* that Carr built Kirby Hall, near Boroughbridge, for John Thompson, esquire, in the year 1750, from the designs of the Earl of Burlington

and R. Morris.

³ In the possession of Messrs. J. R. and W. Atkinson, of York, architects, whose grandfather, Mr. Peter Atkinson, succeeded to many of Carr's works on his retirement from practice.

John Carr was the architect, although the decorative parts of the interior were intrusted to the more refined taste of the royal architects. Mr. Dallaway⁴ unhesitatingly ascribes to Carr the design of Harewood House, which he observes "has a grand elevation."⁵

Carr now rapidly advanced to fame and fortune. During the ensuing thirty years many of the more considerable mansions and public buildings, which were erected in Yorkshire, and various other parts of the kingdom, were from his designs.

The following is the most complete list I have been able to form of the works of Carr, with their approximate dates :—

Tabley House, near Knutsford, for Sir Peter Leycester, Bart., about 1762. 343 feet frontage.

Kirby Hall, near Great Ouseburn, in Yorkshire, for John Thompson, esquire, about the same time.

Constable Burton, near Leyburn, for Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, Bart., 1762-68.

Thoresby Lodge, Notts, for the Duke of Kingston, 1762.

East front of Wentworth Castle, for the Earl of Strafford, 1770.

Basildon Park, near Reading, for Sir Francis Sykes, Bart., 1776.

The Debtors' Prison, York Castle, and the Crown and Nisi-prius Courts, 1765 to 1777.

The Town Hall and Assembly Rooms, Newark, 1776.

Lytham Hall, near Preston, Lancashire, for Talbot Clifton, Esq., 1757-64. Cost about 60,000*l*.

Aston Hall, near Rotherham, for the Earl of Holderness, 1772.

The County Lunatic Asylum at York, 1772-77.

Denton Park, in Wharfedale, for Sir James Ibbetson, Bart., 1778.

Thornes House, near Wakefield, for James Milnes, Esq., 1779.

Farnley Hall, near Otley, for Walter Hawkesworth Fawkes, Esq., 1786. (Additions.)

The Mausoleum at Wentworth, for the Earl of Fitzwilliam, 1788.

The County Hall and Prison, Lincoln Castle, 1786-88.

The Crescent at Buxton, for the Duke of Devonshire, 1779-84.

Kirkleatham Hall, near Redcar, for Sir Charles Turner, Bart.

The Town Hall at Chesterfield, about 1791.

Byram Hall, near Ferrybridge, for Sir John Ramsden, Bart.

Panton Hall, near Wragby, in Lincolnshire, for Edmund Turnour, Esq. (Additions.)

Sand Hutton, near York, for William Read, Esq.

Pye Nest, near Halifax.

White Windows, near Halifax.

House in George Street, Halifax, for Mr. Rawson.

The Bridge at Boroughbridge.

⁴ *Observations on English Architecture*, p. 226.

⁵ The front is 247 feet in length.

The Lodge and Gateway at Harewood, begun in 1801, probably one of his latest works.

In 1770, as architect to the Dean and Chapter of York, Mr. Carr made a general survey of the fabric of York Minster.

York yet retains several admirable specimens of street architecture, of which Carr was the author. The most remarkable is the mansion in Castlegate, built for the last Viscount Fairfax,⁶ of Gilling, which had originally a very imposing front elevation of red brick, with richly decorated stone dressings. The interior was fitted up in a most sumptuous manner, and the whole cost is said to have approached thirty thousand pounds. A handsome mansion, standing on the opposite side of the street of Castlegate, was built by Carr for Peter Johnson, esquire, who was recorder of York from 1759 to 1789. The house which our architect built for his own residence⁷ in the street called Skeldergate, on the western side of the river Ouse, is another excellent example of a commodious family mansion, having a plain but handsome elevation, of red brick with stone dressings, and a Doric portico.

Dr. Whitaker bears honourable testimony to the merits of the York architect. "In the designs of houses (he observes) Mr. Carr was eminently happy : no one had more studied or more thoroughly understood the arrangement and proportion of private apartments, nor are his elevations devoid of grace and symmetry." In his description of Denton Park, in Wharfedale, Whitaker says, "About fifty years ago the Ibbetson family demolished the old mansion of the Fairfaxes,⁸ and built in its place an excellent house, which is considered as one of the *chefs d'œuvre* of Mr. Carr, the architect, of York, to whose good taste, though originally bred a common mason at Horbury, so many families of the county of York are indebted for the comforts and elegancies of their dwellings."

I have already alluded to the sumptuous memorial erected by Carr in his native village. It was about the year 1790 when, "as a monument at once of his skill and his bounty," he built a handsome church at Horbury, at a cost of about

⁶ Charles Gregory, 9th Viscount Fairfax, died 1771-72.

⁷ Mr. Carr purchased the site of this house in the year 1765. The house was completed a few years afterwards, being

rated to the land-tax in 1769 at £10 per annum.

⁸ These were the Fairfaxes of civil war renown.

8,000*l*.⁹ The style of its architecture is what is usually termed classical or Italian, but Dr. Whitaker criticises the design with great severity. It is remarkable that the edifice, by which the architect more especially intended to transmit his name and fame to future times, betrays the deficiency of his early training. Unacquainted with some of the more difficult problems of architectural construction, he omitted from the lower part of the tower certain supporting arches, and the consequence has been that, not many years after its erection, the steeple was in danger of falling to the ground.¹⁰

Mr. Carr's constant devotion to his professional pursuits did not prevent him from undertaking the duties that devolved upon him as a citizen of York, and a member of its ancient municipality. He was appointed to be one of the city chamberlains on the 15th of January, 1766, and in the following year he was elected one of the sheriffs of the city, but paid the usual fine to be excused from serving that office. On the 27th of April, 1769, he was elected alderman, and on the ensuing 3rd of February he was placed in the civic chair, and discharged the duties of the high office of Lord Mayor with becoming dignity and hospitality. In October, 1785, upon the death of Alderman James Woodhouse in his mayoralty, Mr. Alderman Carr was chosen to fill the civic chair during the remainder of that year. In the same year he was appointed one of the magistrates of the West Riding. He was one of the original members of the Architects' Club, established in London in 1791. He retained the office of an alderman of our venerable city as long as he lived, but as he advanced in years, he resided principally at Askham Richard, a village near York, where he had purchased a mansion and estate. There is a tradition that Askham Hall, of which he had become the owner and occupier, was one of the houses at which he had worked as a mason. This circumstance was very probably of his own telling, for he was wholly free from the affectation of desiring to conceal his humble origin or the laborious employments of his early days. When he was rich enough to spend thousands in building a new church for his native town, those who with

⁹ He afterwards added an organ and a peal of bells, costing about £2000 more.

¹⁰ My valued friend Mr. Bayldon, of Horbury, informs me that iron girders

were afterwards inserted, and that the church is at present in good repair and preservation.—E. D.

himself were watching its progress have often heard him say that "he was not ashamed of its being known that he had once been poor," adding, by way of illustration, "I have many a time had to lie in bed whilst my breeches were mending."

The portrait of himself, painted by Sir William Beechey which now adorns one of the apartments of the Mansion House, was presented by Mr. Carr to the corporation of York a few years before his death, which took place at Askham Hall on the 22nd of February, 1807, when he had nearly completed the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The protracted life and successful professional career of Mr. Carr had enabled him to amass an enormous fortune. It is said that he died worth 150,000*l.*, which, as he had no children, he bequeathed by his will amongst his nephews and nieces. To the grateful feelings, rather than to the good taste, of some of these relatives, are to be ascribed the tributes to the memory of Mr. Carr and his parents which were placed after his death in the church he built at Horbury.

Of these monumental inscriptions the following are copies:—

M. S.

Johannis Carr, armigeri,
De Askam parvâ in comitatu Eboraceusi,
Qui optimè de republicâ meruit,
Propter singularem industriam, suavitatem morum,
Eximiam benevolentiam, et integritatem vitæ.
Architecturæ adeo diligenter operam navavit,
Ut inter celeberrimos hujusce artis magistros
Jure recenseatur,
Patriæ decus et ornamentum.
Intra angustos hujusce tabulæ limites
Verbis non exprimi potest
Quot et quam splendida et magnifica ædificia
Tam publica quam privata,
Sub illius auspiciis feliciter surrexerunt.
In architectorum Societatem apud Londinensæ
Honorifice cooptatus est.
Eirenarchæ munus
Summâ fide et justitiâ administravit :
Bis erat prætor in civitate Ebor.
Si quæras lector quantopere liberalitate et pietate
Æque ac ingenio et scientia excelebat
Sacrosanctam hanc ædem aspice,
Laudatissimâ ejus munificentia exstructam.
Obiit vii. Cal. Martii A.D. MDCCCVII. Æt. LXXXIII.

M. S.

Roberti Carr, Architecti :
 Viri non caducis Avorum Titulis,
 Fucatove Divitiarum splendore,
 Insigniti, sed, ob præstantiores
 Animi ac Ingenii Dotes,
 Æternitate vere digni.
 Is enim erat, qui, ab ineunte ætate,
 Optimarum artium amore
 Quodam incredibili flagrans,
 Ingenitas Naturæ vires adeo feliciter
 Excoluit, ut, dum quicquid vel jactat
 Architecturæ, vel in multiplici
 Mathematicorum arte delitescit,
 Unice calluit et promovit,
 Scientiæ tantæ gloriam
 Innocentiâ singulari, Morum
 Suavitate, Pietate non simulatâ,
 Per totum Vitæ Curriculum, exornaret.
 Obiit Die Decemb. III. A.D. MDCCLX.
 Ætatis suæ LXIII.

Rosa Carr
 Prædicti Roberti Carr Vidua
 Et filia Johannis Lascelles, Armigeri.
 Obiit sexto die Octob.
 A.D. MDCCLXXIV.
 Æt. LXXVII.

Perhaps the only morsel of truth to be found in the father's epitaph is the statement that he died in the year 1760, at the age of 63, having lived to enjoy the prospect of his son's approaching fame.

The present memoir may suffice to show that the subject of it was a remarkable and instructive example of one who, by his own natural taste and genius, cultivated with unwearied diligence and application, elevated himself from the condition of an ordinary working mechanic to considerable eminence as an artist. It is true that the branch of the fine arts, in which he attained celebrity, was not wholly foreign to the occupation of his early years, and probably the practical knowledge he then acquired was essentially useful to him in the exercise of the profession to which he afterwards devoted himself. But I have been unable to discover any interval in his life in which he had an opportunity of studying or gaining a knowledge of the principles of architecture under the

instructions of a master, and I believe him to have been entirely self-taught.

It is seldom that in the biographies of persons of any note instances are not given of some indication of talent having appeared in early life, and a story of that sort is told of Carr. Whilst his father and he were working together at Bretton Hall, a design was wanted for a building of a very homely class, which the other workmen were "hammering" at in vain, when the elder Mr. Carr called out, "Let my lad try," and the result was that the lad's attempt was successful, and his plan adopted. The relater of this anecdote suggests that this incident might form the germ of those aspirations which led to the young stone-cutter's subsequent eminence.

Our architect's cheerful and convivial disposition may, perhaps, have formed one element of his success in life. It is said that he possessed a qualification which made his presence in society universally acceptable. He was an excellent singer; and an amusing instance is given of the extraordinary charm of his vocal talent. In August, 1789, the Prince of Wales (afterwards George the Fourth), and his brother the Duke of York, visited our city, and attended the races upon Knavesmire. During an interval of the running, when all the distinguished visitors to the races were assembled in the Grand Stand, alderman Carr, at the command of the royal brothers, stood between them and delighted the company by singing, with admirable spirit and sweetness, the well-known patriotic ballad called "Hearts of Oak," which was very popular at that time.

He retained the vivacity and activity of both his mind and body to the latest period of his life. When he had attained the age of fourscore, he made a tour to the north, accompanied by two ladies of his acquaintance, much younger than himself. He travelled in his own carriage with a pair of horses, being himself the driver, followed by a couple of servants on horseback. To one of the companions of his journey I am indebted for the following anecdote. Immediately after the arrival of the party at Edinburgh, Mr. Carr absented himself for a short time. On his return he told them that he had met with a gentleman who had kindly undertaken to escort them in their intended walks through the city. He said that this gentleman was an entire stranger to him, but that he had entered into conversation with him

whilst they were both stopping to gaze at a building in which they seemed equally interested. After listening for some time to the expressions of admiration which fell from the stranger, Mr. Carr introduced himself to him as the architect of the building he was so much pleased with. This led to the friendly offer of assistance in exploring the beauties of Edinburgh, which Mr. Carr had readily accepted.

The edifice which, with parental eagerness, the octogenarian architect had hastened to visit the moment he set foot in the Scottish capital, was a stone mansion in Saint Andrew's Square, appropriated to the use of the Board of Excise, but originally built for the residence of Sir Lawrence Dundas, Bart., the ancestor of the Earls of Zetland. In the ordinary topographical accounts of Edinburgh, it is described as "a very handsome building with a pediment in front supported by four Corinthian pilasters." The design is ascribed to Sir William Chambers by the topographer, but I have great confidence in the accuracy of my story. The reputation of the York architect must have been well known to Sir Lawrence Dundas, whose son was married to the Earl Fitzwilliam, Carr's great patron in Yorkshire, so that there is nothing improbable in his being employed to build a house for Sir Lawrence at Edinburgh.

From an incident mentioned in Allan Cunningham's "Life of Sir William Chambers," we may infer that Chambers and Carr, who were nearly of the same age, were upon friendly terms. When a tutor in architecture was wanted for the Prince of Wales (afterwards King George the Third), the Earl of Bute was informed by John Carr, of York, whom he consulted, that Chambers was very skilful, and upon his recommendation Chambers was appointed the Prince's instructor, which paved the way to his future eminence. From this anecdote we may conclude that the reputation of the York architect was not unknown to the aristocracy of Scotland.

I cannot more fitly conclude my memoir of John Carr, than by appending to it the following transcript of a letter written by him from his rural retreat at Askham, when he was in the eighty-second year of his age. Wholly in his own hand-writing, it is highly characteristic, and displays to advantage the cheerful and kindly disposition of the genial old man.

MY DEAR MISS HEATON,—

Your very obliging letter has given me inexpressible pleasure, as it gives me hopes that I shall ere long have the pleasure of seeing you and your dear Sister and Father (at my antient Mansion), to whom I desire you will give my most affectionate respects.

You will find my habitation and its environs very antique, but comfortable. In front is a grass plot with a dial in the center thereof, and on each side were a couple of haymakers, but as they are not wanted at this season of the year, they now guard the fish pond in the garden, as my old gardiner, as antique as every thing about him, is become incapable of cultivating more than half the garden, and my *Scrubbery* and *Turpentine* walk are quite neglected, but if you don't come to see me before May, I will during that month get them into a little better order; in June the shrubs are beautiful; my dear friends, I do not mention this by way of saying when I should wish to see you (for I shall be very happy to see you, come when you please), but at that time Nature begins to dress herself in her best attire to receive her summer visitants.

From my gravel walk you ascend three steps into my hall, at the ends of which stands two objects of very different sizes, the one an organ, the other a clock upon a table, and a weather glass above it, so that I daily see how time flies and the weather changes; at one end of the hall is a very small, but a warm little parlour, the sides thereof wainscotted with little pannels one foot square, at the other end an oak wainscotted library with some books in it, beyond that is a strong room with an iron door and shutters of the same metal, answering to which at the other end is the butler's pantry, so that you will find out I have five rooms in front, and over them three bed chambers and three dressing rooms. On the back part behind the hall is a pretty good dining room and a drawing room, which fifty-five years ago I added to the front part of the house for the owner thereof, beyond which is a *train* of offices as long as any lady's gown in the kingdom, which, and also the stables, coach-houses, &c., were also added by me for the owner, Mr. Garforth. Now this description, my dear friends, will save me the trouble of showing you my premises, and you will know your way about the house without a conductor; therefore you will be able to chuse your own apartment. You travel four miles beyond Tadcaster, York road, a hundred yards more will bring you to a little ale house, by the end of which you turn to your *Left hand* to a gate which leads into a field, keep the hedge side, and in four hundred yards more you will see the grand village of Askam, and my house at the end thereof, and two lofty gates, which for want of a porter cannot be opened; proceed, however, towards that on your right hand, and go close by the door and palasades of a neat small house on your right hand, and by the side of my garden wall on your left, and you will see a white garden door, there get out and come in. I generally make a Tour during the summer to some place or other, and when you come here we may perhaps fix upon a Tour to the Lakes, Scotland, or some place or other, but I don't like to set out before about the middle or latter end of June, the weather then becomes settled. I think you mentioned that you wished to make a Tour when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Wakefield, and I shall be very happy in your company to

any part of the world, and I have a good neighbour, whose daughter, your age, would perhaps go with us two in your chaise, and two in my phaeton. Perhaps you will come here in March, April, or May.

I think I have nothing more to add but my best respects and regards to you all, and I am, dear friends, your most respectful, hble. servant,

JNO. CARR.

ASKAM HALL, NEAR TADCASTER,
January 25th, 1805.

ROBERT DAVIES.

February 2nd, 1874.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE YORKSHIRE TENANTS NAMED
IN DOMESDAY BOOK.

By ALFRED S. ELLIS.

(CONTINUED FROM P. 187.)

XV. DROGO DE BEVRERE.

The Chronicle of Meaux Abbey,¹ near Beverley, supplies nearly all the information we have of 'Drogo de la Bouerer,' who, according to it, was a Fleming, "miles probus et in armis probatus," came over with the Conqueror and had the 'isle'² of Holderness given him for his services. He must have come from 'La Beuvrière,' a parish near Bethune, and was probably lord of that place, but, whether he was at the battle or not, we have no means of knowing, as he first occurs in the Survey twenty years afterwards, when we find him in possession of the territory of Holderness:—eighty-three manors. Seven of these had been great lordships, five of them having, in King Edward's time, a rateable annual value of no less than 56*l.*, but 'now' reduced to 10*l.* or 6*l.* Four of the five had been earl Morkar's, the remaining one (Burstwick) had belonged to earl Tostig, to his brother (king) Harold the manor of Cleeton (32*l.* in his time, now 6*l.*) and to Ulf, Dimlington (40*l.* now 6*l.*). The canons of St. John of Beverley had twenty-three berwicks or farms in Holderness mixed up with the lands of Drogo, who claimed them, and no doubt molested their tenants and bailiffs, in spite of their having the sealed charters of King Edward and of King William himself. Nor could William Malet's heir obtain peaceable possession of certain lands within Holderness, which Drogo, no doubt meant to keep if possible, all to himself. In Lincolnshire he got twenty-four

¹ Chron. Monasterii de Melaa (Rolls' ed.), i. 89.

² It is very nearly an island, for an

affluent of the river Hull rises within half a mile of the shore of the German ocean.

manors : three of these were valuable and had belonged to earl Morkar, viz.:—Barrow (on Humber), West (now Castle) Bitham and Carlton (Scroop) : at Hagworthingham also he had a hall. The jurors of the wapentake, perhaps half afraid of this determined character, referred the claims which he was making over the lands of earl Morkar to the king's court for decision (fo. 377. b.).

The Meaux chronicler says 'he built the castle of Skipsea.' This name does not occur in the Survey, but it was then no doubt, as still, in the manor of Cleeton, now an obscure hamlet in the parish of Skipsea. At Skipsea Burgh the earthworks may still be traced of the stronghold of Drogo's predecessor, with a motte which the late Prof. Phillips considered a natural hillock,³ though scarped and trenched. These remains are of the same type as those at Laughton-en-le-Morthen (see Mr. G. T. Clark in *Builder*, 11th June, 1874), and were used by Drogo, the area for the bailey, the mound for the keep of his castle, as Roger de Busli did at Tickhill ; but here there are no remains of any masonry (6-inch Ordnance Survey, sheet 180). Outside this is the hamlet of Skipsea Burgh, the site probably of a market town Drogo intended to establish under his protection and despotic sway. Skipsea castle was dismantled in 1220 by the king's writ, in consequence of the rebellion of the earl of Albemarle, so there had been buildings in the area, a hall and perhaps a keep.⁴ At Burstwick, no doubt, even earl Tostig had a

³ But generally an artificial mound made by the earth thrown out of a circular trench. The French word "motte" (from terra mota!) originally meant the mound and trench, but afterwards the former without reference to the latter, but in this country (like dyke or ditch, a word which once embraced in one idea both the excavation and the heap thrown up on one side) it has long been restricted to the trench. The motte had been adopted in England as well as Normandy previous to the decisive victory which united them. A remarkable one at Barwick in Elmet is called "Hall Tower Hill," perhaps the English name for a motte.

⁴ The hall of the English earl or thane had been of timber, as were those of the Norse and of the Normans themselves, until taught to build them in the manner of the churches in Neustria of stone for safety, for in the hall they all slept on the floor with the dread of being burnt

alive during sleep in the dead of night, a mode of revenge often resorted to. At the time of the Conquest even stone halls were the exception. Guy of Burgundy long defended himself in one at Brionne sur Risle against duke William, 1047. The Conqueror had one at Lillebonne, which remained until recently. (See Cotman's Normandy for exterior, and a bad interior in Baron Taylor's *L'Ancienne France*, vol. i.) The hall of William Fitz Osbern yet exists, though altered, at Chepstow; and the walls and some of the windows of the great hall of William Rufus at Westminster. William of Malmesbury (§ 245), comparing the English (given to feasting and drinking) with the Normans, says that they "consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses, unlike the Normans and the French who, in noble and splendid mansions, live with frugality."

residence. The manor-house here afterwards became the caput of the 'seignory,' as this district is particularly called. At either one or the other must have taken place that tragedy which sent Drogo in all haste to court, before the tale might be told or justice overtake him. The Meaux chronicler relates, that Drogo had to wife a certain cousin of the king's, whom he unhappily killed, whether by mischance or passion, or premeditation, he does not tell us. After her death he went to the king, pretending that *with her* he wished to return to (or rather visit) Flanders, and begged of him sufficient money to be enabled to do so. Having obtained the money from the king, he hastened to the sea-coast and embarked. Now, when this shocking deed and his deception were made known to the king, he sent in haste to apprehend him, but too late, for Drogo, with no intention of returning, had already crossed the channel. Then the king gave Holderness to count Odo of Champagne, the husband of his own sister Adeliza. This event must have taken place between the end of 1085 and 1087, when the Conqueror died. Drogo had probably been dissatisfied with this dreary and marshy district, and his successor complained of it as a barren country growing nothing but oats.

I have not found Drogo witnessing any of the charters of Flanders after his return (nor indeed previously), but Theodoric, or Thierry de Beuera,⁵ lord of that place and castellan of Dixmuë, his heir probably, occurs several times early in the next century, and married Beatrix, daughter of Baldwin de Gand 'le Grand,' lord of Alost, nephew of Gilbert de Gand of the Survey.

XVI. RADULPHUS DE MORTEMER.

Ralph was a son of Roger de Mortemer, 'filius Episcopi,' and therefore first cousin of William de Warenne (XIII.), and younger brother of Hugh de Mortemer, who was at the battle of Hastings (Wace) representing, it would seem, his aged father, then at least seventy-six, as son of Hugh, who, becoming a cleric, had been made bishop of Coutances, in

⁵ Unless Beuvry, also near Bethune. Hist. Genealogique des Maisons de Guines, &c.

990. It is very probable Ralph himself was present, supporting his brother, but there is no evidence of it. Ralph's surname was derived from Mortemer-en-Lions in the 'pays de Caux,'⁶ which had, no doubt, been the castle and fief of the father when Ralph was born, but which was lost under the following circumstances, in 1055, when he must have been a young boy.

An invading force of Henry I. of France had been completely routed by stratagem under the walls of the castle by Roger : among the rest Ralph de Montdidier, count of Valois and Amiens, the commander and the father of his wife, became his prisoner, and, for releasing him three days after without the duke's sanction, and conducting him to the frontier, he was himself exiled, and his castle of Mortemer given to William de Warenne, his nephew. Roger, however, subsequently made his peace with the duke, and, being allowed to retain other lands of his fief, resided at his castle of St. Victor-en-Caux. Hawise, then his second wife, mother of Ralph only, was daughter of the count, and she had, it seems, Mers in the county of Amiens as her marriage-portion. So late as 1074 Roger and Hawise, yet living, erected a cell of the abbey of St. Ouen (at Rouen) beneath the castle into an independent abbey. Very shortly after Ralph himself—his elder brothers having died without issue—inherited the patrimonial fief in Normandy. In England he had obtained manors in Hants, Somersetshire, and Leicestershire. He was evidently associated with Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, in some military capacity on the Marches of Wales, which required constantly guarding their whole length from the Severn to the Dee, and here was the chief estate he acquired. Mr. Eyton, in his most excellent and critical History of Shropshire (iv. 195), says that the forfeiture of earl Roger de Breteuil in 1074, and the reduction of Eadric the Wild, placed large estates in Shropshire and Herefordshire at the redisposal of the king, and Ralph de Mortemer as the antagonist of Eadric seems to have acquired some of these lands ; others, given to the earl of Shrewsbury, he held of him seemingly as his seneschal. In Shropshire there-

⁶ Between Neufchâtel and Aumale, near the source of the river Aulne. There are several places called Mortemer in France, and so named, no doubt, from a stank or stagnant pool or *dead mere*—

mortuum mare, a designation also given by the Crusaders to the inland sea of Palestine. The French still say "*Fau morte*" for slack, or still water, or low tide.

fore we find he held nineteen manors of the earl, besides more than thirty others of the crown *in capite*; several also in Herefordshire, with the castle of Wigmore, built by William Fitz Osbern, father of its late possessor. This became his chief seat, and his posterity long continued to reside here. He had a further grant of lands in Lincolnshire, including Edith's manor in Thornton and Grimsby, and eleven others that had belonged to her in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the chief one being in Alveng (*i.e.* Kir Ella) and (North) Ferriby. He got also Orm's manor in Scampton and Gilling. Nothing however of him is recorded in connection with this county, though Hawise his daughter was married to Stephen earl of Albemarle (Aumale) and Holderness, who had with her the towns of Chorston and Barrow (Glover's Colls.).

In 1088, that critical year to Rufus, when the whole kingdom was in confusion, Ralph, the men of the earl of Shrewsbury and others, "all of them conspirators," with mixed force of English, Normans and *Welsh*, made an inroad into the diocese of Worcester and threatened to burn the city, but the inhabitants, encouraged by bishop Wulfstan, sallied out and signally defeated them. (Chron., Florence of Worcester.) The following year he was one of those barons north of the Seine who garrisoned their castles in support and at the cost of the king in his continued struggle with duke Robert. (Ord. Vit., VIII. 9.) He seems to have been loyal also to Henry I., for, in 1104, two years after the expulsion of earl Robert of Shrewsbury, he is mentioned as one of the zealous partizans of the king in Normandy. Mr Eyton says that the Wigmore annalist records other particulars of Roger, but, as they are contradicted in almost every essential detail by Ordericus Vitalis, cannot therefore be trusted, and this is probably the last authentic notice of him. He had founded a collegiate church of secular canons at Wigmore with three prebendaries, but by his dying will it was changed by his son Hugh into a priory of Augustinian canons. According to the Wigmore Register (Mon. Ang. vi. 345), he died on the nones (*i.e.* 5th) of August, 1104 (? read 1104), in Normandy, no doubt at his castle of St Victor, and was buried in the abbey there. Melisend (Millicent) was the name of his wife, whom he survived (Rot. Norm. ii. cxx.) Besides the daughter Hawise above

mentioned, he left two sons, Hugh de Mortemer and William de Mortemer, who had Chilmarsch, but died without issue. Hugh was the ancestor of the Mortimers of Wigmore, earls of March (*i. e.*, the Welsh march or border), the third of whom had by Philippa his wife, granddaughter and ultimate heiress of Edward III., a granddaughter and eventual heiress, countess of Cambridge, the grandmother of Edward IV., from whom all the subsequent sovereigns of England were descended, excepting Henry VII. and William III.

XVII. RADULPHUS PAGENEL.

This Ralph was in all probability a native of Moutiers-Hubert,⁷ in Calvados and near Lisieux, and younger son of a seigneur of that fief, whose name has not been recorded, for the lord of that place, William Paganel, mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis (viii. 1) as one of the barons of Normandy who died about the same time as the Conqueror, was, it is presumed, his eldest brother. The surname of this family, Painel or Paynell, in the Latin of the time 'Paganellus,' is a diminutive of Pain or Paganus, a word which, having become an ordinary *Christian* name, had lost its significance,⁸ and 'Paynel,' as was the custom of the time, was no doubt first applied for distinction to a Pain fitz Pain during his father's lifetime, and happened, in this case, to be perpetuated as a surname by his descendants.

What part Ralph took in the conquest or subjugation of England is not known, nor in what year he came over, for he is first met with in the Survey. 'Painal of Moustiers-Hubert,' the father or brother, was, according to the "Roman de Rou" of Master Wace (line 13,630), at the battle of Hastings, yet it was Ralph only who had any share in the

⁷ *Monasterium* (here meaning a church or minster) *Huberti*. There was a castle here, if not at this time, not long afterwards.

⁸ Paganus, a countryman or rustic, an inhabitant of the pagus—French "pays," through which word the form Paysan and our peasant. As the country folk remained heathen long after the town folk had been Christianized, "Pagan"

acquired the meaning now attached to it. Pagus properly translates our "hundred" or "wapentake," being the district of a community bound together for mutual protection by self-imposed laws. The shire or county being an aggregation of them as a kingdom was of counties or earldoms. The count of Normandy had several vicomtes, and the district of each was called "pagus."

territorial spoil. William, it seems from this likely, desiring to remain in Normandy, got as his reward those lands in the Cotentin which his descendants enjoyed : the Conqueror moreover, it is known, gave his wife as dowry the fief of Briqueville-sur-Mer. (Cart. Mont. S. Michel.)

What Ralph obtained was the entire estate of Merlesweyn who had been sheriff of Lincolnshire the year King Edward died, and he took possession of it wherever it lay. The bulk was in Lincolnshire, but some portions were in the south, namely, in Somersetshire five manors, in Devonshire ten with lands in Gloucestershire and Northants. In this county he had ten manors, here and there, in the three Ridings of little value, or recorded as still waste. Drax⁹ he seems to have fixed upon for his residence in Yorkshire, as there was a castle here in King Stephen's reign which he may have built. He was mostly connected with this county, but in Lincolnshire was the chief estate of Merlesweyn as now of himself, nine valuable manors, and he retained lands in demesne in four of them, Irnham, Burton (Stather), Roxby and (West) Rasen, residing at each in turn, no doubt, as the manner was : he had also a mansion in Lincoln. Ralph also acquired the manors in Lincolnshire of a thane named Grinchel, who for treason had forfeited his rights, when they were given to Merlesweyn the sheriff by King Edward the year he died. Parcel of this thane's estate was Stretton in the wapentake of Skyrack, which Ilbert de Laci got though we find Ralph (Paynel) as his tenant. He was also in possession of earl Morkar's lordship of Burton (Coggles in Lincolnshire, but under 'claims' (fo. 376, b.) ; we read that the jurors affirm it had not belonged to Merlesweyn, nor had lands in Heckington which he also claimed. In Yorkshire (fo. 374) he seems to have made good his right to four bovates in (Moor) Monkton, which Osbern de Arches holds, because he could prove they had belonged to Merlesweyn. Ralph also held the manor of Thorpe (Audlin of Ilbert de Laci.

Subsequently to the date of the Survey he became Ilbert de Laci's tenant at Leeds and Headingley, the former the more important place, and rated at 7*l.* (formerly 6*l.*), and the

⁹ Dugdale's account of the Paynells (Bar.) is wrong, as he confused two branches. Fulk, who married the heiress of Dudley, was not this Ralph's son. But

it is curious that Drax for a time should have been given to *another* Fulk of Northamandy not descended from Ralph.

erection of a castle there may be attributed to him rather than to Ilbert. Lands, too, at Millington and Huggate he, it seems, afterwards obtained from the crown, as he gave them to St. Mary's abbey, but subsequently to Rufus' charter of 1088-9. (Charter of Henry II., Mon. Angl. iii. 549.)

Having acquired the desecrated priory of the Holy Trinity in Micklegate,¹⁰ York, and the lands of the canons lately in possession of Richard fitz Erfast (q. v.) and, as he himself says in his charter, "inflamed by the fire of divine love desiring to treasure up in heaven what I can after this life receive hundredfold," he bestowed them entire, with the assent of Matilda, his wife, and his sons, William, Jordan, Elias, and Alexander, in the reign of Rufus, who willingly authorised the gift, upon the monks of Marmoutier, by whom a cell or priory was forthwith established here. The tithes and advowson of Leeds and many other churches, as well as lands and some of the property he seems to have acquired with his wife, he gave to them at the same time, altogether a princely gift. Nor was this all the monks got from him, for he bestowed on Selby abbey a meadow in a bend of the river Aire in his manor of Drax, called 'Nesse' (*i.e.*, the nose or promontory.) (Mon. Angl. iii. 501.)

In 1088 we find Ralph Paganel sheriff of Yorkshire (the successor probably of Erneis de Burun), and a zealous supporter of Rufus, watching and frustrating William de St. Carilef, bishop of Durham,¹¹ who accuses him of having invaded the lands of his church and parcelled them out; of refusing to provide him or his retinue means of passing peaceably through the county, on his way to court under the king's safe conduct; of having arrested the monk he sent as messenger to court as he was returning from the king; and after killing the horse he rode, of only permitting him to proceed on foot; and lastly, of having enjoined in the king's name all loyal subjects to injure him. Soon after

¹⁰ Historic details of the priory of the Holy Trinity, its founder and his family, by Mr. Thomas Stapleton, an elaborate memoir of 231 pages in the York volume of Archæol. Inst. 1846, tracing the descent more particularly of the manor of Irnham to its possessor, Lord Arundell of Wardour, in whom and Lord Clifford as heirs general in direct line the representation of this Domesday Tenant is now vested.

The fine early English archway of the priory gatehouse in Micklegate, shown in a woodcut, has been ruthlessly destroyed since for a new street. For the site of the priory see map of York by Mr. Skaife, to whom we shall shortly be indebted for a critical translation of the Yorkshire part of the Survey.

¹¹ "Unjust persecution of Bishop William," printed with Simeon of Durham.

earls Alan and Odo and Roger le Poictevin made oath to conduct the bishop to the king and back if justice was not done him. They arrived at court, then at (old) Sarum, and, on 2nd November, the bishop was heard before the king in council, and entreating to be restored to his see, archbishop Lanfranc told him he had never seen writ of the king's to dispossess him of it; but he replied, "I have seen Roger (read Ralph) Paganell, *who is here present*, and he, by the king's writ, dispossessed me of the whole of my bishopric within the county of York." During the angry dispute which ensued, Paganell (called here Reginald) said it were fitting he (the king) held his earls to their pledge made to the bishop, but Rufus bade him 'Be silent,' and the prelate was banished.

Osbern de Arches seems to have succeeded him as sheriff, but he was still living when King Henry at York, in his presence, confirmed his great benefaction to the abbey of Marmoutier, between 1100 and 1108 (when archbishop Gerrard died to whom the charter is addressed). How long he lived after this is not known: Matilda his wife was no doubt, as Mr. Stapleton thought, daughter and co-heir of Richard de Surdeval, who held so many of the earl of Mortain's manors in this county, but as Jordan Paynel, the second son, inherited her lands, William, Ralph's son and heir was probably by a previous wife, who may have been sister or daughter of Ilbert de Laci. This would account for his being the tenant of so important a place as Leeds. Alexander Paynel, the youngest son, at length inherited the lands of his mother on the death of his brother Jordan without issue. These brothers had married two sisters, the former Agnes, the latter Gertrude (widow of Robert Mainill), daughters of Robert Fossard, and from Jordan, younger son of Alexander, descended the Paynels of Boothby Pagnell, Notts, who continued there until the reign of Elizabeth, when Francis Paynel sold the estate to lord Burleigh.¹²

Elias, the third son, brought up to arms, turned Benedictine monk, became prior of the Holy Trinity at York, and afterwards abbot of Selby, 1143-53. He had also it appears a daughter Agnes,¹³ married to Robert de Brus, who

¹² Pedigree and notes from the family cartulary by Gervase Holles, Add. MS. 6118, and Lans. MS. 207, B. fo. 318.

¹³ From an ancient document giving

the descent of this manor in the family of Brus, in the possession of Thomas Metham, Esq., of Metham, when copied by Dodsworth. (Mon. Angl. VI. 268.)

had with her the manor of Carlton, which their descendants, with lands in Camblesforth also, long possessed.

Arms.—These Paynels may have borne the two lions passant (azure?) found upon the very early heraldic seal (1187) of their cousin Gervase Paynel (engraved Mon. Angl., v. 204), which the de Sumeris, derived from the heiress of another branch of the Paynels, also no doubt by adoption from them, bore; for, and it is very curious, the same bearings occur on the seal of Robert, son of William de Siclinghale, parish of Kirkby Overblow, '*husband* of Eufemia *Paynel*,' t. Henry III. (Dodsworth, Harl. MS. 245, fo. 125.) This is the only instance I have found in Yorkshire, for the descendants of Alexander Paynel adopted the bend sable (as did the Mauleys) of the Fossards, and bore it, until the match with the heiress of Boothby, in 1308, when they took up the two chevrons of that family. A shield bearing azure a cross patonce or, formerly in Selby abbey, was attributed to the Paynels (Morrell's Hist. Selby, p. 58), but on no good authority.

XVIII. GOISFRIDUS DE LA WIRCE.

Goisfrid, Galfrid, or Geoffrey, was a young Breton of rank at the time of the Conquest, and, probably, had a command in the contingent of Alan Fergant, count of Brittany, whose host was a third part of the invading army. His name was derived from his seigneury of "La Guerche," a town near Rennes, on the borders of Brittany, called so from an ancient chapel of 'la guerche.' (Gallic for La Vierge, the Virgin, or Our Lady.) There is an account of the seigneurs of this place and Pouencé (which they also held) in the rare work of Père du Paz,¹⁴ from which we learn that

It calls Agnes, however, daughter of *Fulk*; but there is no doubt she was Ralph's. Unless this manor of Carlton was at the time of the Survey parcel of the lordship of Drax, as Camblesforth was, it must be another, still in the king's hands, 1086, and afterwards acquired by Ralph. Carlton still belongs to the representative of one of the sisters and co-heirs of the last Baron de Brus of Skelton—Lord Beaumont, nephew of Mr. Stapleton.

¹⁴ Hist. Genealogique de plusieurs Mai-

sons illustres de Bretagne, folio, Paris, 1619. Dugdale (Warwickshire, p. 50) refers to this work, but does not make any use of it! nor any other genealogist before or since, so these interesting particulars are made known here for the first time. We also learn that Silvester was living in the time of count Conan II., who, knowing that the boundary of Bretagne extended into Anjou as far as the bridge of Mayne at Angers, and that the counts of Anjou had usurped this territory, assembled a force to retake it, and

Geoffrey was son of Silvester, lord of those places, chancellor of Brittany, who, becoming a churchman after his wife's death, was, in 1075, consecrated bishop of Rennes and died such, 18th January, 1096. When he entered the church his son and heir, Geoffrey, called 'de Pouencé' by du Paz, succeeded to his estates, but died, *vitâ patris*, for, in 1094, Walter called "Hay" his son (?) and heir, then lord of La Guerche, founded a priory at Pouencé. Walter had a son Geoffrey, but his daughter Emma inherited these two places, and her descendants adopted the name of La Guerche, and bore gules, three leopards passant or, which may have been the coat of the old stock. Domitia de la Guerche, wife of Reginald, sire de Craon, in the same neighbourhood (elder brother of Wido or Guy de Craon,¹⁵ the tenant in capite in Lincolnshire, 1085), was either daughter or sister of Geoffrey. Although there is no reference in this work to Geoffrey's coming over to England, or having lands here, there can be no doubt of the identity of Geoffrey, the son of Silvester, with this tenant in capite.

Goisfrid obtained Medelton (Melton-Mowbray) and twenty-six other manors in Leicestershire, twelve in Warwickshire, the entire isle of Axholme, with the manors of Gainsborough, Somerby, and Blyborough in Lincolnshire, besides houses in the towns of Warwick, Leicester, and Northampton. But in this county the solitary and remote manor of Adlingfleet,¹⁶ separated only from his isle of Axholme by the river Don, which here *flowed* (diverted by the Dutch engineers in the 17th century, and now a ditch) into the Trent, just before it joins the Humber, but, from the rest of Yorkshire by a moor of great extent, allowing only a string of hamlets on the banks of the Ouse, Don, and Trent, with a causeway from one to the other, though by boat was the chief mode of communication. At the time of the Survey Geoffrey was, it seems, a trusty subject, for he had the custody of the lands in Warwickshire of count Alberic (fo. 239 b., see also 'Albericus de Coci.') At Crowle, in the isle of Axholme,

laid siege to Silvester de la Guerche in his castle of Pouencé. By surrendering Silvester got into great favour with the count, and became chancellor of Brittany.

¹⁵ Father of Alan de Croun, seneschal to Henry I., and so great a favourite with

him that his fellow knights called him the "king's god." He also got the name of "Alan Opendore," because he kept so great a house and was so hospitable. (Leland's Itin. i. 126).

¹⁶ The *boat-floating* creek of the Atheling, or, perhaps, of the son of Adla.

the Survey informs us (fo. 370), "a certain abbot of St. German of Salebi has, under Geoffrey, one carucate in demesne and seven others, thirty acres of meadow and 31 fisheries." The *Historia Selebiensis*, (xix. and xx.) tells us that the monk Benedict of Selby, having pawned his relic for 100 marks (v. Erneis de Burun) and been at the king's request made an abbot by archbishop Thomas, who *freely* gave him Selby minor and Friston, desired other lands for the endowment of the abbey he was establishing. He had got to know 'Gaufrid de Lauuirce' familiarly, and had begged this estate at Crowle from him by prayer and purchase, but the money influenced him most. He acquired the lands at Stanford of Wido de Reincourt in the same way, much below their value, no doubt. The abbot then went to the king in London, and obtained a charter of privileges and confirmation of what by his own statement he had acquired. This document was witnessed by many bishops and nobles, 'the whole curia regis,' and Geoffrey de la Wirce himself (Mon. Angl., iii. 499). And no doubt, while the abbot still remained in London, that charter was also obtained from Geoffrey by which he granted Crull, namely, the hundred of land, with sac and soke in the sheriffwick¹⁷ ('vice-comitatu') of Lincoln, for his own soul, his wife's, *and his friends'*, so it is clear he was then childless. This interesting deed was "made at London in the solar¹⁸ of the house of Waleran, in the presence of Odo bishop of Bayeux and others." (*Ib.*) These events may be referred to a very short time before the Survey, 1084 or 5.

One other and very interesting and *dated* charter of Geoffrey's is preserved in the Register of Burton Lazars' Hospital (Cotton. MS. Nero, cxii., and printed in Nichols' Leicestershire, vol. ii., appendix, p. 125) made at Kirkby, one of his Warwickshire manors, kalends of July, 1077, or the twelfth of King William's reign, bestowing, with the consent of *Alueve* his wife, no mean share of his lands and

¹⁷ Lincolnshire, so styled probably because there was no earl, the king retaining the county in his own hands.

¹⁸ The *Solar* in a house of this period was the principal chamber after the hall, which it adjoined often at the dais end, being the owner's own room, to which he withdrew and used as a parlour for private conference. In it was his bed, also

a long carved seat among other articles. It usually had a store room or cellar under (Domestic Arch. i. 86), and so was an upper chamber, like the "Solarium" of the Roman domus (an open *sunny* place where the fresh evening breeze might be enjoyed, which would not be felt down in the atrium). Thus the name survived, though applied differently.

tithes on the monastery of St. Nicholas at Angers; and particularly the church of Kirkby, which, being decayed, he had rebuilt in honour of the Holy Virgin and St. Denys, and dedicated that same day in the presence of Peter the bishop (of Lichfield). The monks then established a priory or cell here, and the place is still known as Monks Kirby. He gave also the isle of Sandtoft, adjoining Axholme, to St. Mary's abbey, York; but, it would appear, subsequently to Rufus' charter, for it is not named therein. (*Mon. Angl.*, iii. 550.)

Geoffrey's chief residence was no doubt at Melton (Mowbray), where he had a market, and perhaps another at Epworth, afterwards a seat of the Mowbrays.

He was back in Brittany in 1093, for, as "*Galfridus de Guirchiâ*," we find him witnessing a deed of 'Hervey, son of Goranton,' (*Lobineau's Hist. Bretagne*, ii. 217 a.) and died soon after, for next year his heir founded the priory at Pouencé. Whether he left England of his own accord, or was banished for implication in the rebellion in favour of duke Robert, does not appear, but certain it is in the next reign Nigel de Albini was in possession of all his lands, except Adlingfleet (which Lovetot got), and confirmed his predecessor's grant to Selby abbey.¹⁹

XIX. GOISFRIDUS ALSELIN.

The surname of Goisfrid or Geoffrey is undoubtedly a patronymic. Alselin itself—not an uncommon name, and found in several families of Normandy and Brittany—is a possessive of Alsi or Elsi,²⁰ and first borne for distinction by a son of one of this name, in his father's lifetime only, often dropped afterwards, and not used in formal documents. Thus Fulc d'Anou occurs with Fulcoline, his son, in a charter, but they witness it as Fulc, and Fulc, his son (*Gallia Chr.* xi. *Inst.*, col. 61). M. D'Anisy (*Recherches sur le Domesday*, p. 121) believed he was a son of Asceline, father

¹⁹ It is necessary to notice an unwarranted supposition of the late Archdeacon Stonehouse (*Hist. of the Isle of Axholme*, p. 323) that he was buried in Belton church, and that an effigy there was his.

²⁰ Formed as in Latin with *-inus*, and

in Greek with *-ωος*. So Paulinus of Paulus, Constantinus of Constans, Julianus of Julius among the Romans; and *-ing* in old English—*Æthelwulfing* (son of Æthelwulf), *Carlovinge* (the descendants of Carl or Charles).

also of a Walter and Robert called 'Pincerna' (the Butler) who, by a charter in which he styles himself 'son of Asceline,' gave to S. Michael in monte Tumba, for the health of his father and mother, his son Josceline, his brother Walter, and himself, all his custom which by hereditary right he was holding in the castle of Dinan. M. D'Anisy thinks he was a cadet or bastard of the Breton lords of this place, but was he not rather their butler? Ralph, mentioned in the Survey as nephew of Goisfrid Alselin, he also calls "son of Walter,"²¹ brother of Robert and Goisfrid," but he does not give his authority (*ib.*, p. 122).

All that is certainly known of Goisfrid is what we find in the Survey; that he got the lands of the English thane Tochi, son of Outi, in Northants, Leicestershire, Derbyshire (Elvaston and four others), Notts and Lincolnshire, with his hall in Lincoln. Two houses in Northampton he held in conjunction with his nephew Ralph, as also the hall in Lincoln, and the very valuable manors of Ruskington (rated at 25*l.* but now 50*l.*), and Westborough (15*l.* now 25*l.*) in Lincolnshire, reserving lands in demesne at both places. In Notts Geoffrey had Tochi's manors of Lexington (or Laxton), Shelford, and Stoke (Bardolph), and, as Tochi happened to have had two manors in this county, Geoffrey also became a Yorkshire tenant in Brampton and Cantley, near Doncaster, and Healaugh and Wighill; he also got Alsì's²² manor in the former places.

Lands of Tochi in Loversall and Wadsworth had been overlooked, and Geoffrey was satisfying the jurors of his right to them. (Claims, fo. 373, *b*).

Nothing is recorded of Geoffrey's career before or subsequent to the Survey, not even the time of his death; nor was he a benefactor to the monks. But he evidently left a daughter and heiress married to Robert de Calz or Caux, who divided the barony with the descendants of his nephew, Ralph Halselyn, with whom, it seems, at the time of the Survey, he shared some of his lands, as his heir male or companion in arms. This daughter and heiress was recently dead, 1131, for Robert de Caux,²³ her son, had her lands, and

²¹ A Walter was Geoffrey's tenant at Lexington.

²² This is curious, but could not be Geoffrey's own ancestor, as the form

Alselin or Asceline is not English. Elsing would be that.

²³ Robert de Cals married Isabel de Ferrara, sister of earl Robert, and had

the same year Ralph Halselin renders account of 200 marks of silver and one of gold to have relief of his father's lands (Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. I.). This Ralph was evidently the heir of the nephew; Mr. Stapleton²⁴ thought his grandson, being son of Geoffrey, living in 1108 (referring to a Survey of the fiefs of Lincolnshire, printed in 2nd vol. of Hearne's ed. of *Liber Niger*). Shelford Notts is considered the caput of the barony of Geoffrey of the Survey, but the whole was held in moieties by the heirs of the daughter and the nephew. Mr. Hunter says (South Yorks. i., 81) the honourable office of forester of the royal forest of Sherwood, which was held in hereditary right by his descendants (the families of Birkin and Everingham), was probably at first given to him (Geoffrey of the Survey).

XX. WALTERUS DE AINCURT.

Walter came it seems from Aincourt in the Norman Vexin, near Mantes, for a descendant of his gave the patronage of the church there to the abbey of Bec. (D'Anisy's *Recherches sur le Domesday*, p. 66), and the fief was still held by Oliver d'Aincourt a century after.

He obtained several manors in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, but in Lincolnshire sixteen, of which four were more or less valuable, and one, Branston, was worth as much as 26*l.*, 6*l.* more than formerly. At Blankney, near Sleaford, as conveniently situated, or offering a good site, it seems he made his chief seat, as it was the head of the barony of his descendants. He got in this county two manors in Wombwell and Rawmarsh as they had belonged to Tori, whose lands elsewhere he had. Walter vouches the king for his protector, and Henry de Ferrieres as the person who delivered seisin to him of Wade's manor in Brampton and Wadshelf, in Derbyshire (fo. 276). Very little is known of

Robert de Calz (died 1186) who, by Sybil, daughter of Richard Bassett (widow, æt. 50, in the king's gift, 1186), left an only child and heiress, then wife of Ralph fitz Stephen, the chamberlain (s. p.). She died in 1224, when John de Birkin got her lands as next heir, being son and heir of Adam fitz Peter and Matilda de Caux, but whether this was herself or

an aunt, as in Dodsworth, has not been decided.—*Lans. MS.* 207 A.

²⁴ Preface to *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), p. xcix. *note*. From Rose, the daughter and heiress of Ralph, the son of this second Ralph, the author himself was descended. This preface is a very valuable genealogical memoir.

Walter, nor does he occur as a benefactor to the monks, but he was a cousin of Bishop Remigius de Fescamp, who removed his see to Lincoln, and built the first cathedral there, but died (7 May, 1092) on the eve of its consecration. Therefore his family and the bishop's must have been connected in Normandy before the Conquest brought them both to England. We may very reasonably suppose that Walter helped his cousin in these works, more able probably to assist him in materials (stone or timber) than in money, which was not very plentiful with the Norman barons.

Walter d'Aiencurt had the misfortune to lose his son (and heir ?) William, whilst he was being educated in the court of King William, "son of the great King William who conquered England. He died 3 kalends of November . . ." (? 1092), probably when the court was at Westminster, and was brought thence to Lincoln. A body, supposed to be his, was discovered in 1741, near the west door of the cathedral, sewn up in leather, and thus transported by a tedious journey in those days (*Archæologia*, i. 31). Previously (in 1670) a small leaden tablet had been discovered with an inscription²⁵ to his memory, from which the above particulars are derived, as well as that his father "was cousin of Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, who built this church," and that he himself was "of royal lineage." This must have been through his mother, but who she was has not been discovered; probably a relation of the king's, which would account for his christian name, William. In the seal of Edmund, baron D'Eyncourt, attached to the baron's letter to the Pope (1301), a lion passant will be found in the four corners outside the shield, as if a memorial of this descent.

Nothing more is recorded of Walter, and he probably died soon after, and was succeeded by another son, Ralph, who founded Thurgarton priory, Notts (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 92), and, by Basilea his wife, left, with others, Walter de Aincurt his son and heir, who was a liberal benefactor to S. Mary's Abbey, York, as also was Matilda, his wife (*ib.*, iii. 549).

For an account of the line of barons derived from Walter, and existing down to the reign of Henry VI., see Dugdale's

²⁵ Now in the cathedral library. First engraved in Dugdale's *Baronage*; but a more faithful facsimile will be found in the Lincoln volume published by the

Archæological Institute, with an article by the late Mr. Albert Way, which has been here made use of.

Baronage (i. 387), and Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire (i. 210), both good, but at variance and incorrect in some few details.²⁶

XXI. GISLEBERTUS DE GAND.

Although there seems to be no certain evidence, the great French genealogist André du Chesne²⁷ was, no doubt, correct in considering Gilbert de Gand (*i.e.* Ghent), a younger son of Ralph de Gand, lord of Alost,²⁸ a town near that famous Flemish city, a descendant of its ancient counts, and one of the grands seigneurs of Flanders, in the time of Count Baldwin de Lille (1034—67), father of Queen Matilda. Gisle was probably his mother; as she undoubtedly was of Ralph de Gand, chamberlain of Flanders, another younger son of Ralph, whose eldest son and successor was Baldwin, lord of Alost, who died in 1081. Gilbert was related to Queen Matilda, but certainly *not* son of her brother count Baldwin, as stated in the 'Descensus de Gant,'²⁹ and fully believed by most writers still, (even by Mr. Planché "The Companions of the Conqueror," i. 169,) nor probably even nephew by an *unknown* sister, as has been suggested, although it might be so, as Du Chesne admitted.

There is far more certainty as to Gilbert's descent from our great king Alfred, through his daughter Elfthryth ('Elftrude'), wife of Baldwin, count of Flanders, and her granddaughter Leutgarde, who was married to Wichman, 'count of the castle of Gand' (living 951), from whom Gilbert was 6th in descent male.

It is not known whether he was among the Flemings at

²⁶ The uncle of the poet laureate, the late Right Hon. Charles Tennyson D'Eyncourt, M. P., of Bayon's Manor, took this name in compliance with the will of his father, Mr. George Tennyson, as a descendant of this family (in the female line) and possessor of an estate at Aincourt (by purchase).

²⁷ *Hist. Genealogique des maisons de Guisnes d'Ardes de Gand, &c.*, by André du Chesne, Tourangeau; *Geographie du Roy*, Paris, 1631, folio, livre iv., contains the account of the lords of Alost of the name of Gand, who bore sable a chief

argent. Gilbert must not be confounded with a nephew of the same name, who was also flourishing 1088, in Flanders, and founded the abbey of Notre Dame at Alost.

²⁸ William Clito, count of Flanders, the unfortunate grandson and lawful heir of the Conqueror, died from a wound received while besieging the castle of this town, 9 Aug. 1128. See Ord. Vit. XII. xlv.

²⁹ A document preserved in the Tower at North Kyme, in Lincolnshire, in 1640, printed in Mon. Angl. v. 491.

the battle of Hastings, or there at all, though probably he was, and the first record of him is, that he was left conjointly with William Malet and Robert fitz Richard by the Conqueror in command of York, when the city surrendered to him in 1068 (Cf. William Malet), afterwards when it was taken by 'the Danes,' 21 Sept. 1069, he is named, but only by Simeon of Durham, as one of the few, who, with William Malet the sheriff, were spared as prisoners of war for exchange or ransom. He was in Flanders 1075, for he occurs witnessing a charter dated 25 May.

He had obtained the valuable and extensive estate of Ulf the constable, chiefly in Lincolnshire and Notts,³⁰ with Empingham in Rutland, some stray manors in the southern counties, and his mansion in Lincoln. Folkingham, near Grantham, was the capital manor of Ulf, rated formerly at 50*l.* per annum and the same at the time of the Survey. Here, probably, he occupied or rebuilt the hall of his predecessor, and it continued the residence of his immediate successors. In Lincolnshire he also acquired the lands and manors of Tunne, Odincarl, and Siward, making altogether in that county twenty-three valuable lordships with soke and berwicks.

The lands of Ulf the constable, wherever they lay, having it would seem been granted to him, we find him claiming, at the time of the Survey, detached portions and a carucate of land in Birkin in this county, overlooked by the commissioners: the jurors say Gilbert has it, for it had been Ulf's. (Claims, fo. 373 *b*).

All that was registered to Gilbert in Yorkshire was in Hunmandby, on the sea coast, the two manors of Carl and Chilbert, worth 12*l.*, but *now* 3*l.* with soke and berwicks: though, it seems, he subsequently acquired by gift of the crown the lordship of Bridlington, formerly belonging to earl Morkar, and worth 32*l.* but *now* only 8*s.*! This included the port and town, which had *then* only four burgesses paying tax.³¹

³⁰ Kneesall and nine other manors that had been Ulf's. Kneesall, which he then retained in demesne he seems to have afterwards subinfeudated to his son-in-law, the constable of Chester, whose heirs held it of the old feoffment.

³¹ King Stephen's writ to the sheriff and his officers requiring them to allow

the prior to have and hold the port of Bridlington as freely and peaceably as Walter de Gant or *Gilbert his father held the same*. Walter had founded an Austin priory here about 1120, and Wichman, the first prior, was no doubt a kinsman, as bearing the name of an ancestor of his. (v. Mon. Angl. vi. 286.)

Half a hide of land in Eston (Northants) says the Survey (fo. 227 b.) Gilbert himself has given to (the abbey of) S. Peter sur Dive. To S. Mary's abbey, York, he gave, subsequently to the Survey, but before 1088, ten bovates in (South) Ferriby on the Lincolnshire side of the Humber. (Mon. Angl. iii. 541).

At Bardney in Lincolnshire, one of his most valuable manors, were the remains of an ancient abbey, destroyed by the 'Danes,' so long before as 870, which he refounded and endowed, between 1086 (the date of the Survey) and 1089, when archbishop Lanfranc died, who had subscribed the foundation charter, a copy of which is preserved in the confirmation of his son in 1115. (Mon. Angl. i. 629).

Gilbert died during the reign of Rufus, about 1094, M. le Provost believed, and was buried in this abbey, having, according to the 'Descensus de Gant,' held the lands of a certain Dane named Tour (read Tunne) for twenty-eight years: this gives the date 1094, if they were granted him in 1066, (though it was more likely the following year). He had by Alice his wife, daughter of Hugh de Montfort, lord of Montfort sur Risle, and eventually heiress of her brother,—

1. Gilbert de Gand, who died without issue in his lifetime;
2. Hugh, who according to the continuator of William of Jumièges, inheriting the extensive fief of his mother's family in Normandy, took the name of Montfort, and was ancestor of the lords of that place and Cocquainvilliers. He married Adeline, sister of Waleran, count of Mellent, and, being soon after drawn with him into the revolt in Normandy in favour of William Clito, 1123, was taken prisoner, and Ordericus, writing apparently in 1135, says, "he has now groaned in fetters for 13 years." (Ord. Vit., XII. xxxiv. and xxxix.)
3. Walter de Gand, who succeeded to all his father's lands in England, founded Bridlington priory, married Matilda, daughter of earl Stephen of Richmond, and was ancestor of earls of Lincoln;
4. Robert de Gand, most probably another son, provost of Beverley until the celebrated Thomas à Beckett, appointed 1138, dean of York in 1148, and, it seems, died in 1153, when a successor was nominated. He had been chancellor to king Stephen.
5. Ralph de Gand, perhaps another son, besieged in the castle of Montfort sur Risle by Henry I., 1123; and three daughters at least,—1. Emma, whom Alan de Percy had to wife with the manor of

Hunmandby in frank marriage ; 2. (Agnes ?) wife of William fitz Nigel, constable of Chester to Earl Hugh ; witness to the foundation charter of Bardney abbey and one of the earliest benefactors to Bridlington priory, giving to it the church of Flamborough. Their son William, constable of Chester, witnessed, as 'my nephew,' the charter of Walter de Gand and 3 . . . , married to Ivo de Grentmesnil. (Ord. Vit., VIII. xvi.)

Among the vassals of Walter de Gant we find Ralph and Gilbert de Alost. Gilbert married Erneburgha, heiress of Burton in Holderness, widow of *Ulbert* the constable : by the latter she had Robert the constable, ancestor of the family still seated there. Ulf, the lagman of Lincoln, living 1086 (son of Sortibrand the thane and father of Sortibrand, who was allowed to retain the manors of Burton by Lincoln and South Carlton) had a brother *named Ulbert*. Ulf the lagman may be the same as Ulf the constable, whose lands Gilbert de Gaunt got.

It is curious that several, not related, called 'le constable' were, most confusingly to genealogists associated with the Gants in the neighbourhood of Bridlington. There was William the constable of Chester, after him his son William, also Lambert the constable, doubtless a relation of Walter de Gant, being son or grandson of Lambert the castellan or constable of Gand, his great uncle.

Arms. A gant or glove might very probably have been a canting device or badge of this family, but it has not been found anywhere. An existing family of Gaunt, in Staffordshire, claims descent from Gilbert and the earls of Lincoln, and bears their arms, viz., Barry of Six or and azure, over all a bend gules.

XXII. GISLEBERTUS TISON.

Gilbert was certainly not an Englishman as two late memoranda make him, although the statement is generally accepted. Mr. Stapleton³² was the first to suggest that he was 'apparently' a member of the family of Tesson, lords of the district in Normandy called "Le Cinglais." Taisson was

³² Preface to *Plumpton Correspondence* (Camden Soc.), p. x.

Norman French for badger, and consequently, in some of their deeds, the name is Latinised "Taxo." The two memoranda mentioned before,³³ although both confusing persons and details and of late date, yet concur in making a 'Tyson' (one, Gilbert himself, the other William his son) die at the battle of Hastings; and, as we know, *Ralph* Tesson was killed therein, I suggest this statement may refer to him, and that, as the children Ralph left were probably minors, the elder son Ralph inheriting the estates in Normandy, Geoffrey as a younger son was the recipient, when he came of age, of some recognition of his father's services: otherwise, as has been remarked, it is strange that this distinguished family should never have had any share in the lands of England.³⁴ Tesson or Taisson is, however, never spelt Tyson or Tison, nor *vice versa*, and the favourite name of Ralph does not occur in this family, but, the fact that Geoffrey must have been a young man even at the date of the Survey (1086), to have lived more than 40 years afterwards, favours the above supposition.

Gilbert Tison is, however, first met with in the Survey, wherein we find he had obtained a manor in South Ferriby, in Lincolnshire on the Humber, and twenty-nine manors in Yorkshire. The chief of these seems to have been Alwine's lordship in Wressle, with soke in six neighbouring hamlets. Other manors he had, in Kirk Ella, Holme (on Spalding Moor), Hessle, Bubwith, &c., twelve altogether in the East Riding, in the West, eleven, among them Bramhope and Leathley, and six in the district of Craven; many of them are described as still 'waste,' that is uncultivated. In Notts he got seventeen manors of more value, including Finningley, Winkburn, Aigrum (Eykering), Sibthorpe, Aslackton, and Hickling.

Gilbert Tyson, in a charter to Selby abbey, styles himself, "the high standard-bearer to the lord the king of England," (summus vexillator), a post of great military honour and renown, but confidence in this document has been somewhat shaken, as a faithful copy of the original without interpolation or alteration, for it makes archbishop Aldred a witness who

³³ *Chron. Alnwick Abbey*, Newcastle volumes (ii.), published by Archaeological Institute, and *Esc. of 8 Edw. II.*, quoted in Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 90.

³⁴ They subsequently acquired some;

Ralph Tesson, seneschal of Normandy, held the manors of Wheatley and Laughton in-le Morthen in this county, but forfeited them on the severance of Normandy, 1205.

died in 1069 ; and this grant was not made at the date of the Survey even, seventeen years after. It gave to the abbey two carucates in Folkerthorpe, two in Bubwith, one in Writtelowfield in Lund and a place called Gunnelby (Mon. Angl., iii. 500). By a later deed, in which he does not use his official rank, but adds the consent of his wife and sons, he made an addition to his former liberal benefaction to the monks of Selby, with the condition that they should admit him a full brother.³⁵

Gilbert gave lands also to S. Mary's abbey, but not before 1088—9, in Runthorpe and Helmeley. (*ib.*, iii. 548—9.)

Gilbert Tison has been called 'lord of Malton and Alnwick' (Reg. of Alnwick Priory) ; and though the former was crown land at the date of the Survey, "it is not improbable," as Mr. Stapleton remarks, "that the defence of Alnwick castle in the turbulent district north of the Tyne was undertaken by this great military officer, and that he made it the caput of his barony ;" and, that "the influence of Roger de Mowbray, the earl of Northumberland, may have, in that case, drawn him in to share in the rebellion (1095), which ended in the expulsion from their seigneuries of many Norman barons, whom the chroniclers omit to name."

There is no doubt his barony was escheated about this time, and divided by William Rufus between Nigel de Albini and Ivo de Vesci. Under Henry I., Gilbert could never regain his estates, but he continued to hold a large share of them as tenant of the grantees, one of whom (Ivo) it is not improbable was his son or brother-in-law. With Lucia, the donor's wife, he witnessed the charter of Ralph Meschines, giving to S. Mary's, York, S. Michael's church and the church of S. Lawrence in his castle of Appleby (Mon. Angl. iii. 584). Geoffrey, it seems, survived until nearly the end of Henry's reign, and died in debt, for, in the Pipe Roll of 31st year of that king (1131) we read, "Adam Tisun renders account of the debts of his father, and of a fine not to plead for his lands until Nigel de Albini's heir be a knight." He left at least two sons ; the elder, Adam Tison, mentioned above, succeeded his father, gave to Selby abbey, with consent of Emma his wife and William his son, Atoncroft, in the wood of Holme (on Spalding Moor), and to the Knight

³⁵ This charter is printed from the original in *Ecd. Documents*, edited by the late Mr. Hunter for Camden Soc., p. 49.

Hospitallers his manor of Winkburne. He was also a benefactor to the priories of Rufford and Thurgarton. The other son, Richard Tysons, had from his father, it is said, the manor of Shilbottel, in Northumberland, and other lands (two knights' fees of the barony of Alnwick, 1166). He founded the chapel of the nuns at Guyzance, dedicated to S. Wilfrid, and witnessed the foundation charter of Alnwick abbey by his feudal lord Eustace fitz John. The Hiltons are descended from the daughter and heiress of his grandson German Tyson, but Tysons still exist, derived from one of the younger sons. William Tisun was living 1166 (*Liber Niger*), when he held his inheritance as seventeen knights' fees, fifteen of Roger de Mowbray and two of William de Vescei. He seems to have left daughters and coheirs, represented by Constable Belver, and Amicia, wife of Henry de Hose (widow of . . . Constable ?), confirmed the gift of Egrum by Adam Tisun to Thurgarton priory.

XXIII. RICARDUS FILIUS ERFASTI.

All we know of Richard is what the Survey records, but, from the uncommon name his father bore, he might have been a descendant of Herfast or Arfast, brother of the duchess Gunnora, and grandfather of the famous William fitz Osbern,³⁶ dapifer of Normandy and earl of Hereford, who was left by the Conqueror in charge of the additional fortress he built at York in 1068. (*Ord. Vit.* IV., v.) Richard, in that case, would have been cousin also of Osbern de Arches, sheriff of York at a later date, and, in a remoter degree, of the Conqueror himself. Richard may have come to York with William fitz Osbern and remained with him when left in charge of that portion of the city on the south side of the Ouse, where within the wall, and eastward of Micklegate Bar, was a house of secular canons dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but called Christ Church, which

³⁶ Of this family was Osbern, son of Arfast, abbot of S. Evroult, 1061, described by Ordericus as learned, eloquent, and with a lively genius for the arts of sculpture, architecture, copying MSS., &c. He planned and began the new church of

S. Evroult, but died 27 May, 1066. Osbern, bishop of Exeter, 1074—1103, was brother of William fitz Osbern; and Erfast, bishop of Thetford, 1070, was, no doubt, related.

was deserted or partly destroyed during the siege, or occupied for military purposes on account of its position. This, Richard obtained, with half a carucate of land and three tofts adjoining, which had been subject to Danegeld, but free of all jurisdiction even of the earl or king, also all the lands of the canons, viz., in (Bishop) Thorpe, Bilborough, (Moor) Monkton, and Knapton (in Acomb), all in the immediate neighbourhood. He cultivated himself the land at York, and got 30s. from it yearly. All that Richard obtained besides this was the manor of Haldene in Hessay, adjoining his other land at Monkton. In York he acquired four houses, probably near the church of the Holy Trinity. Richard occurs nowhere else in the Survey. In the reign of William Rufus, Ralph Paynell, having acquired the church of the Holy Trinity, which itself seems to have survived, though it had been desecrated, gave it, with a liberal grant of lands, to the Benedictine monks of Marmoutier, who immediately sent over some brothers and established a cell or priory here. (Historical Details by Mr. Stapleton in York vol., published by Archæol. Inst.)

XXIV. HUGO FILIUS BALDRICI.

Of what Norman family Hugh came is not known, nor who Baldric, his father, was. There is, however, one record of him before he crossed the channel. Hugh fitz Baldric witnessed the charter (certainly before 1067, and in all probability shortly before the expedition sailed) of Gerold, who styles himself 'soldier of Christ,' granting to the nuns of S. Amand at Rouen the church of his fief of Roumare, conceding them also land at Gonnerville, tithes of the mills at Dun and Barentin, and of his toll at Arques, for the sum of 71*l.*, of which Richard de Montville³⁷ and Helisendis his wife had an ounce of gold and Hugh fitz Baldric 34*s.* Hugh perhaps farmed the toll, or had the reversion of it, and, as has been before surmised in the case of Roger de Busli, (q. v.) this transaction probably took place to supply the parties with ready money—not then plentiful—to defray their expenses in the expedition to England at their own cost, but having

³⁷ Father of Nigel de Monville of York. (Stapleton's Norman Rolls.)

the promise of lands if the kingdom were conquered. We do not know whether he was at the battle of Hastings or not, probably, not ; coming over, when there was more certainty of success, with Hugh Lupus, William de Perci, and others, who were in time only to share in the lands in the north, not already allotted. No doubt he was in the northern campaign of 1068, and at the submission of York. Immediately after the recapture of the city, Sept., 1069, from the ' Danes,' who had taken it and made the sheriff, William Malet, prisoner, and whilst they still kept him, it seems Hugh fitz Baldric was appointed to this important office by the king ; proving thus the great trust he had in him, for there was at the time no earl of the county nor any one acting in that capacity. He, no doubt, was a person experienced in the duties of this office, and may have been under sheriff to William Malet, or previously to the viscount of Arques in Normandy. His jurisdiction seems to have extended over Nottinghamshire as well. (*v. post.*) In the Survey we read (fo. 298) that William de Perci affirmed that " Hugh the sheriff, the year after the destruction of the castle (*i. e.*, 1070), repairing or enlarging the defences, had included Uchtred's house within the fortress," denying the accusation of the burgesses that he himself did it after his return from Scotland. But before this, prior to the end of the preceding year, if the *Historia Selbiensis* (xiii.) may be trusted as to the date, sailing down the Ouse, attended by a strong guard of soldiers, as travelling was very unsafe, for the despoiled English were rendered desperate, passing the site of Selby he was attracted by a cross on the low bank of the river, landed to see what it meant, and found Benedict, the monk of Auxerre, with his relic of S. German, by whom in vision he pretended to have been directed to this spot. (*v. Abbas de Salebi.*) The sheriff left his tent as temporary shelter for the relic, sending carpenters afterwards to build a chapel, and, moreover, at his suggestion, Benedict sought the king and obtained a grant of that portion of the royal manor on which he had settled. It is strange the name of Hugh fitz Baldric does not occur among the donors of the abbey which he was thus instrumental in founding. It was to Hugh fitz Baldric, the sheriff in 1074, the three Benedictine monks of Evesham, desiring to restore monachism in the north, applied when they arrived at York for a " guide," or

rather escort and safe conduct on to Monkcaster, (Newcastle, then so called,) which no doubt was granted them as they got there safely. (Simeon of Durham.) He was succeeded as sheriff by Erneis de Burun before the date of the Survey.

We find by the Survey he was then farming the royal manor of (Great) Casterton in Rutland, rated formerly at 6*l.*, 'now' 10*l.* He had obtained in Notts two manors; in Lincolnshire six manors in Bonby and fourteen others, at one of which, Claxby, worth formerly 8*l.*, 'now' 9*l.*, Wido, his *son-in-law*, ('Wido, gener Hug.') held lands of him as well as at Stodeby (fo. 356 b.). In this county Hugh got Copsi's manor in Coxwold, which, with lands in the neighbourhood, was rated at 6*l.* in the time of King Edward, 'now' 12*l.*; two manors in Cottingham and Pilforth, (?) near Beverley, (4*l.*, 'now' 7*l.*) and twenty-one other manors in Hessele hundred; fourteen manors in the neighbourhood of Coxwold and fifteen in Craven and the North Riding, in all fifty-two. At Coxwold³⁸ and Cottingham were his chief residences apparently; and he had greatly improved the value of these manors, as well as those in Lincolnshire, where he retained demesne lands. In the city of York he had four mansions and twenty-nine small inns or lodging-houses, ('minuta hospitia') also the church of S. Andrew which he bought (fo. 298.)

When Hugh fitz Baldric had been appointed sheriff (of Nottinghamshire, or, was that county included within his jurisdiction while sheriff of Yorkshire?) he found in the town of Nottingham one hundred and thirty-six men (burgesses); but there are sixteen less 'now,' 1086, although in the new borough he had built thirteen houses on the earl's land where none were before, and placed them in the rating of the old borough (fo. 280.)

Hugh gave to S. Mary's abbey, York, before 1088—9, lands in Hoton, Normanby, and Kirkby-Misperton, and his charter is printed in the *Monasticon* (iii. 551.)

Nothing more is recorded of him or his descendants, if he had any. Wido, his son-in-law, has not been identified. As his lands, or most of them, were afterwards possessed by

³⁸ He had lands in a place of the same name in Lincolnshire, and there are other examples of this curious circumstance in

the Survey. The constable of Chester held Halton in Cheshire, and Halton in Lincolnshire, &c.

the Mowbrays, he probably lost them, by being on the side of duke Robert, in the rebellion of 1106, as they were granted to Nigel de Albini.

XXV. ERNEIS DE BURUN.

Erneis, or Ernegis, as otherwise written in the Survey, was no doubt, as stated by Mr. Wiffen,³⁹ brother of Ralph de Burun, who obtained several manors in Notts and Derby, the ancestor of the lords Byron, one of whom has given the name a wide and lasting renown.⁴⁰ Erneis was probably the elder of the two, and had the greater reward. They would seem to have had their name from Buron or Baron,⁴¹ now a parish in the canton of Evrecy, near Caen, and, as the bishops of Bayeux possessed the honour of Evrecy (so at least in 1133), this fief may have been held by Erneis of bishop Odo, both coming over and fighting under his banner. We find an Erneis, a vassal of the bishop, holding a manor in Nettleton (Lincolnshire), who was almost certainly Erneis de Buron, as he himself held *in capite* another in the same place. But the only persons to be found bearing this name in Normandy cannot be connected with these brothers. William de Buron (or Baron) was one of the sons of Aiulphus de Foro, a wealthy citizen of the market-place of Caen, who founded in 1138 the abbey of Ardennes, and a Godfrid de Buron witnesses a charter to this abbey very soon after (*Gallia Christiana*, xi. Inst. 77), and may be the same mentioned below. As the name of Erneis was not a common one, a relationship is suggested with the family of fitz

³⁹ (*Hist. of the House of Russell*, i. 29; but he does not give his authority.) Ralph was lord of Hucknall, Notts, where the poet lies buried with his ancestors, and may have been the builder of Horestan Castle, in his manor of Horseley in Derbyshire.

⁴⁰ It is not likely the brothers were cadets of the lords of Biron, near Périgueux, who bore the name of Gontaut, ancestors of the French ducal family still existing. It was a lady of this house the poet was introduced to as a namesake.

⁴¹ *Statistique Monumentale du Calvados*, by late M. du Caumont, i. 113. View of

the church with early French spire, dedicated to S. Mary, the mediety of which given to the priory of S. Barbe en Auge by Robert Gouvix, confirmed by Ralph, his brother. Though Buron is not in the map of Normandy prefixed to the Norman Rolls edited by Mr. Stapleton, a *Burum* is given near Buron on the Drome, above Bayeux, but as this cannot be found in any other map, I expect it is the former misplaced, especially as it is omitted where it ought to be. "Burum" is the spelling of Erneis' name in the *Hist. Sc'ebienais*, and the charter to earl Ranulph.

Erneis, a branch of the Tessons and benefactors to the abbey of Fontenay in the same neighbourhood.

The head of either family was killed at the battle of Hastings :—Ralph Tesson and Robert fitz Erneis his first cousin, yet their heirs seem to have gone unrewarded in England, unless Gilbert Tyson (q. v.) were one and Erneis de Burun the other. Robert fitz Erneis, killed at Hastings, was the first of six generations of the same name : the 6th Robert Fitzerneis, in 1217, specifically confirmed the gifts of all his ancestors to the abbey of Fontenay in a charter most remarkable for its genealogical information. (*Gallia Chr.* xi. 414.) Erneis, the father of Robert, *had a son Ralph* ; but though two others occur (Eudo and William), neither bore his own name.

The lands Erneis de Burun got in Yorkshire were not of great value (fo. 328) ; the manors of Bingley, Hunsingore, and Copmanthorpe were the best. Altogether he had twenty-two manors ; more than half of them were in Burghshire (now Claro, Wapentake). He had also four houses in York.

In Lincolnshire Erneis obtained the countess Godgifu's manor of Wragby, worth 10*l.*, but formerly 14*l.* ; and of fifteen other manors, those at Ulceby and Middleton (now Melton-Ross), rated formerly at 6*l.* and 5*l.*, both 'now' 8*l.*, were the best. He had demesne lands at each of these three places.

We do not find that he made any benefactions to monks, but the *Historia Selebiensis* (xviii.) records that the monk Benedict, who had settled down at Selby with his relic, bent upon founding a monastery, borrowed 100 marks, or a pound of silver, of 'Erniss Deburum'⁴² (sic), then sheriff, leaving with him the finger relic of S. German as a pledge, first taking it, before witnesses, out of the shrine, he held it up to him by the hair which yet adhered, reminded him to take great care of that which could not have a value set on it, and then placed it in the casket of the sheriff. The devout Ernest received and treated it with great respect, provided two lamps always burning for it, and allowed it to be exhibited without fee, and he himself soon received benefit from it, for his son Hugh, subject to epilepsy, being desired

⁴² Labbe's *Nova Bibliotheca*, MSS. li-brorum, vol. i. This was omitted in the notice of Abbas de Salebi. What he did with the money, see 'G. de la Wirce.'

to watch it with prayer during the night, was thereby completely cured of his mournful infirmity.

This probably took place about 1084 or 5, and Ernest must have already succeeded Hugh fitz Baldric as sheriff of Yorkshire, and given place to Ralph Paynel before 1088, in which year he (Ernes de Burone) and Ivo Taillebosc were commissioned by Rufus to take possession of Durham castle (the bishop having been exiled); and his commands were executed by them on the 14th November.

This is the last notice we have of Erneis, and as his lands were afterwards given with those of Robert Malet to the earl of Chester, they also may have been forfeited for taking the side of duke Robert in 1106 in that unsuccessful struggle for the throne which cost all those engaged in it all but either life or liberty. Mr. Stapleton, however, thought his estates reverted to the crown by the extinction of his issue. (Holy Trinity Priory, p. 31.)

However that might have been, Henry I. granted his manor of Bingley to William Paynel, and his other estates were by Henry II., when duke of Normandy, by a remarkable charter dated at Devizes, . . . confirmed to Ranulph, earl of Chester, as "the fief of Ernes de Burum as *his inheritance*," together with the lands of Robert Malet and Alan de Lincoln, two uncles of his (the earl's) mother. (Dugdale's Baronage, p. 39.)

If Ernest had any descendants they were, like those of Gibert Tyson, reduced, in consequence of his rebellion, to be under-tenants. He had lands in Goxhill, or Gousle, in Lindsey, where the name (as Barun) was lingering as late as 1335.

A Godfrey *de Burun* gave half a bovate in Whitton to Thornton abbey, in the next century, and a *Robert fitz Erneis* gave a bovate and toft there also (Mon. Angl., ii. 200); this same R. fitz Ernis, generally called de Gousle (Goxhill), gave the church there to Bridlington priory (*ib.*, vi. 287). He held two knights' fees (in Gousle and Witton) of the bishop of Lincoln, 1166. (Liber Niger.) Robert fitz Erneis with Adeline, his wife, gave ten acres in Moresdale to Whitby abbey. She was daughter and heiress of John Yngelram. In the fragment of the Roll of ladies, boys and girls of the king's gift (1186), we find the "wife of Simon de Crievequer, daughter of Robert fitz Erneis and John Ingel-

ram's daughter's daughter, aged 28, with two sons (æt. 5 and 4) and two daughters. The de Vers appear to have inherited the manor of Gousle through another daughter and coheir of Robert fitz Erneis. Hugh, son of *Ernesius* de Nevil, quit-claimed four oxgangs in Gousle to Bridlington priory. (Burton's Mon. Ebor., p. 230.) Goxhill in Holderness and Goxhill in Lincolnshire either belonged to the same family or were often confounded.

Arms.—We have no clue to the original arms of the De Buruns, for the coat of the descendants of Ralph is that of Albert de Gresle, lord of Manchester, with whom in the time of Henry II. they were connected feudally, and by marriage as well beyond doubt.

XXVI. OSBERNUS DE ARCHES.

Although, as M. D'Anisy (*Recherches sur le Domesday*, p. 196) pointed out, there are several places called Arces or Arches in Normandy, and, though the Abbé de la Rue was of opinion that Osbern came of a family named from Pont de l'Arche, the conjunction of the Christian name of Osbern with de Arcis is strong confirmation of the assertion first made by Mr. Stapleton (*On the Barony of William de Arques*, *Archæologia*, xxxi. 216) that he might have been a younger brother of William de Arcis,⁴³ who occurs in the Survey as holding the valuable manor of Folkstone in Kent of Odo bishop of Bayeux. Osbern would then have been younger son of Godfrid, viscount of Arques, by the daughter and heiress of Gozelin, the previous viscount, and founder of the monasteries of the Holy Trinity of the Mount and of St. Amand, both near Rouen. Arques is the well known and remarkable castle near Dieppe, and was then the capital of a viscounty, the name no doubt being derived from *Arx*, a citadel. Godfrid was a son of Osbern de Bolbec, husband of Aveline, one of the sisters of the duchess Gunnora, among the numerous descendants of whose sisters and brother Herfast the name of Osbern so frequently occurs.

Osbern de Arches is first met with in the Survey, and is

⁴³ See note 33, under Robert Malet.

found therein possessed of sixty-six manors in Yorkshire, several in the neighbourhood of York, others in Craven, mostly of little value ; but the chief were at Thorpe (-Arch), 4*l.* formerly, 'now' 10*s.* less ; Walton, 4*l.* formerly, 'now' 30*s.* less. (Nun) Appleton, Poppleton, Oglethorpe, Newton (-Kyme),⁴⁴ and (Nun) Monkton.

In York he had the two houses of Brun the priest, and his mother, twelve lodging houses, and two houses of the bishop of Coutances.

In Thorpe-Arch we have a memorial of him to this day. The men of the wapentakes of Barkeston and Skyrack refuse the testimony of Osbern de Arches, that Gulbert his predecessor had all Thorner as by whose gift they know not, and it was within the bounds of Ilbert de Laci's castell, according to the first survey, but without by the latest. Osbern it appears was in possession of lands in divers places which the jurors say had belonged to William Malet, and ought now to be his son's, but Osbern affirms that Gulbert,⁴⁵ his predecessor ("antecessor," fo. 374), had Appleton and all the other lands without dispute.

In Lincolnshire he got Grimbald's manor in Scalby and Stratton with its berwick in Redburne.

By a charter printed from the original in Drake's Eboracum, p. 602, he gave to S. Mary's abbey, York, lands in Poppleton, Appleton, Hessay, and two houses with land in S. Saviour Gate, York, and this donation was confirmed by the charter of William Rufus, 1088-9. (Mon. Ang., iii. 547.)

Osbern (called often Osbert)⁴⁶ de Arches was sheriff of Yorkshire in the early part of Henry I.'s reign. Richard I. confirmed to Selby Abbey lands in Acaster given by 'Osbert' the viscount. (Mon. Angl. iii. 502.) But it is doubtful whether this was Osbern de Arches, as at the time of the

⁴⁴ Fulk, the tenant of Osbern at Newton (Kyme), Oglethorpe, Towlston, and Catterton, was son of Reinfrid (after a monk and prior of Whitby, see "Wm. de Percy"), and sewer to Alan de Percy. Robert, son of Fulk, married Adelize de St. Quintin as above.

⁴⁵ Who Gulbert was does not appear—probably a previous Norman grantee, for the name—not the same as Gilbert—was not known in England ; a relation, perhaps even father of Osbern, for there was a Gulbert (son of Erchenbald the viscount), the faithful servant of Osbern

the dapifer (father of William fitz Osbern) so grievously wounded when his master was killed in the duke's very chamber at Vaudreuil, that he became a monk at the monastery of the Holy Trinity of the Mount. All this is from his charter (No. vi. in Chartulary.)

⁴⁶ The name of Osbert, often an *alias* in error of Osbern, was not forgotten, for in 1267 an Osbert de Arches was holding lands in Brillington of Stephen Meynil, and Maud, his widow, was wife of sir William de Cantelupe, in 1286.—Burton's *Mon. Ebor.*

Survey he had no lands there. When he died is uncertain, but he probably left several sons.⁴⁷ His eldest son was William de Arches, who with Ivetta, his wife, founded a priory at (Nun) Monkton in the reign of Stephen. (Mon. Angl., iv. 193.) He died without male issue and the manor of Thorp went to his daughter Ivetta, married, first to Roger de Flamville (Mon. Angl., vi. 971), and secondly to Adam de Brus of Skelton; dying in his lifetime, 1152, she was buried at Gisburn priory. The Bruses had Thorpe. Matilda, another daughter, was a nun and prioress of Monkton. Adeliza de St. Quintin (founder of Nun Appleton priory) seems to have been another co-heiress in right of her mother, Agnes de Arches, wife of Herbert de St. Quintin, who was married several times and had issue by Robert fitz Fulk (see note 44) of Newton, Robert dapifer, her heir, who by his wife the countess Rose left two daughters and coheiresses married to two brothers, William and Simon de Kyme.

Arms.—This family of Arches, or de Arcis, appears to have borne three arches of masonry, but a citadel (arx) or tower would have been more appropriate. They must not be confounded with the family of De Arcubus (or Bowes), who bore three bows (arcus).

XXVII. ODO BALISTARIUS.

Odo is called 'Arbalistarius' (Arcu balistarius, the cross-bow-man) in the Index List of Tenants in Capite in Yorkshire, but, more correctly, 'Balistarius' at the head of the Survey of his lands (fo. 329 b.) for so he styles himself in his charter to S. Mary's abbey.

The Balistarius was the captain or officer in charge of the stone and missile-discharging engines used in sieges before the artillery of fire.⁴⁸ Vitruvius speaks of three kinds

⁴⁷ Gilbert de Arches, probably one, witnessed with William the foundation charter of Salley Abbey (*Mon. Ang.* v. 512), and was probably ancestor of the de Arches of Grove, Notta, and those of Craven Thurstan and his son Wieline, of the Fountains Cartulary, but Herbert de Arches must have had his name from his mother.

⁴⁸ See sketches of them in operation by M. Viollet-le-Duc in his *Dict. de l'Architecture*, vol. i. p. 363, and iii. 98 (representing the siege of le chateau Gaillard by king Philip Augustus, 1203-4, the fortress being bravely defended by Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester and lord of Pontefract.

(x., xv. and xvi.), and with modifications the construction and use of these were handed down to mediæval times; and others, it seems, were devised, as the mangonel and trébuchet,⁴⁹ the battering-ram having been laid aside. Odo was, no doubt, the officer in charge of these military engines in the castle of York, and held the lands given him by the service of transporting and working them when required.⁵⁰ As only one Ingeniator or Engineer occurs in the Survey (Waldinus, fo. 365 b.) it was probably the balistarii who planned and superintended the works of military engineering as well.

Odo must have performed important services to the Conqueror at the siege of York, and elsewhere, to have been awarded twenty-five manors. Eleven were in Lincolnshire and fourteen in this county, east of York, which had either belonged to Forne or Gamel, of these Skirpenbeck, formerly rated at 3*l.*, 'now' 4*l.*, was the most valuable, and here perhaps he made his chief residence. He retained lands in demesne in three of his Lincolnshire manors. In York he had three houses of Forne and Gamel and the inn (hospitium) of Eilaf, also a church. He possessed himself of the lands of Orme and Bundi in Skirpenbeck, but the jurors testify it ought to be the king's still.

Subsequently to the Survey, styling himself 'Odo Balistarius,' he gave four carucates and a half in Grimston to S. Mary's abbey, before Rufus's confirmation (Mon. Angl., iii. 547), and, afterwards, added the tithes of Skirpenbeck and Bugthorpe (*ib.*, 548); so he was living subsequently to 1088.

He does not occur again anywhere, and William de Canci was in possession of Skirpenbeck and apparently all his other lands in Yorkshire in the reign of Henry I.; 'by purchase,' says the family pedigree of Chauncy (Clutterbuck's Herts., ii. 400), so perhaps Odo was in the unfortunate rebellion of 1106 in support of the claims of duke

⁴⁹ The trébuchet was a great artificial arm of wood, wound back, and throwing, when liberated, a missile out of a sling. See Sketch Book of Wilars de Honecourt, architect of the 13th century, and note by the editor (Professor Willis), p. 195; also Viollet-le-Duc's *Dict. Raisonné de l'Architecture*, art. 'Engin.'

⁵⁰ In *Testa de Nevil* (p. 378), under the heading of 'York Castle,' Robert Balistarius, holds by sergeanty lands in Seneedale by the service of 1 balista. Robert de Geveldale and Thomas de G. hold all G. by a balista at York Castle: (reign of Henry III.)

Robert, and therein lost his life or lands. We have no clue to what family he belonged.

XXVIII. ALBERICUS DE COCI.

He had three manors in Yorkshire, near Doncaster, those which had been Sweyn's in Hickleton and Cadeby, and Artor's (Arthur) in the former place; and this is all he seems to have had in this or any other county, unless he be identical with that mysterious person called elsewhere in the Survey 'comes Albericus,' and, in the Recapitulation of carucates (fo. 379), his name is *thus written* as the owner of this property. It is not probable that Albericus de Coci was "of the same family as Amfrid de Canci," as Mr. Hunter suggested.⁵¹ (S. Yorks., i. 133.) I think it is far more likely he was none other than that Alberic de Coucy, who was living at this time, holding the castle, town and fief of Coucy (near Laon) of the church of Rheims, and who, as "Albericus de Cociaco," attested letters of Philip king of France, dated 1067 and 1076. This place at an earlier date was written 'Codiciacum;' subsequently however the family occurs as "de Coci," exactly as spelt in the Survey. From Du Chesne's history of the house we learn that Alberic left, by Ada, his wife, heiress of Marle, a daughter and heiress married to Enguerrand, sire de Boves, and from them descended that proud and potent line of nobles, who matched with the daughters of the great peers of France, and in the time of Louis XI. even aspired to the throne. Enguerrand VII., sire de Coucy, married in 1365 the princess Isabel, eldest daughter of Edward III., and was created earl of Bedford, but left no male issue. It was Enguerrand III.⁵² who, about 1220, built the famous keep of the castle of Coucy,⁵³ which bears some resemblance to Conisburgh.

⁵¹ Cussy. Cusseium, near Bayeux, is the only place in Normandy with a name resembling Coci.

⁵² The Chapter of Rheims complained to king Philip Augustus of the ravages committed by this baron in their lands. He replied, "I can do no more for you than *pray* the Sire de Coucy to leave you uninolested." Another of them boasted,

"Roi je ne suis,
Prince, ni comte aussi
Je suis le sire de Coucy."

This family held lands in Yorkshire. See Baronage p. i., 761. Alexander II., King of Scotland, married Mary, daughter of Enguerrand III.

⁵³ See Viollet-le-Duc's *Dict. Raisonné de l'Architecture* for plans, &c., ii. 109, 113, 5, 6; the keep, v. 75, &c.

Nothing more is recorded of Alberic de Coucy, but in case of his identity with count Alberic being proved, and there are good grounds for the supposition, what is known of the count is here given. Simeon of Durham says he was appointed earl of Northumberland after the murder of Walcher, bishop of Durham (14 May, 1080), who had administered that office; but Alberic very soon after either resigned, or being found unfit for the difficulties of this important post, was removed; still he must have inspired the king with confidence even to have got it. As 'Albericus comes Nordanhymbrorum' following 'Alanus comes Orientalium Anglorum,'⁵⁴ he witnessed the king's charter to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, dated Winchester, 31 May, 1081. (Mon. Angl., iii. 141.) The king, apparently on his death-bed, sent 'count Alberic' to his son Robert, offering him the duchy of Normandy. (Ord. Vit., V. x.) An amusing story is told of count Alberic in the Chronicle of John Brompton, abbot of Jervaulx. (15th century, X. Scriptores, col. 1255.) Although a powerful man, he was very ambitious and consulted the devil, who told him he should have Greece, whereupon he went to that country, but the people not only would not have him, but despoiled and drove him away. A wiser man he at last got back to Normandy, and the king (Henry, but ?) gave him a noble widow in marriage. It was only at the altar he learnt her name was Grecia (Grace), when he suddenly discerned how the devil had cajoled him.

The "Albericus Comes" of the Survey *had held* ten manors in Wilts, two in Oxfordshire, several in Northants, all the lands of Harding in Leicestershire (seventeen manors), and six manors in Warwickshire, but they are all recorded as again in the king's hands, except those in Warwickshire, which were then in the custody of Goisfrid de Wirce.

Dugdale (Bar. i., 188) thought there was little doubt of his being the ancestor of the earls of Oxford, but this is not so, for Alberic de Vere occurs in the Survey and was a different person.

⁵⁴ This can be no other than earl Alan 'Rufus' of Richmond, as earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, appointed no doubt after the conspiracy and flight of earl Ralph the Gael, 1071. This should have been mentioned in the account of Alan,

and also that, at the time of his death, he was about to be married to Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, who afterwards became queen of Henry I. (Ord. Vit. VIII. xxii.)

ON THE ST. CUTHBERT WINDOW IN YORK MINSTER.

By the Rev. J. T. FOWLER, M.A., F.S.A.

IN the third volume of the Yorkshire Archæological Journal is an account of the St. William window in York Miuster, by my brother Mr. James Fowler, F.S.A., intended as a first instalment towards the carrying out of a suggestion made by Mr. Winston in 1846, for a complete description of all the York glass. The present notes are offered as a further contribution in the same direction.

The St. Cuthbert window occupies the south end of the eastern transept, and corresponds in form, dimensions, and general arrangement, with the St. William window, which is at the north end of the same transept. But the former only contains, exclusive of tracery lights, eighty-five panels as against one hundred and five in the latter, the difference being occasioned by St. Cuthbert's having only two rows under the lowest transom, the upper of these rows with lofty canopies, and St. William's having one extra row higher up. In St. Cuthbert's, the tracery-lights have all disappeared, but Torre has preserved notes of those which contained figures, twenty-one in number.

In its original condition, the window contained the following subjects, proceeding from the lowest row upward, an arrangement often adopted in works of this description.

1. Under the lowest transom : The donors, or those who were associated with or honoured by them, grouped in attitudes of devotion around a grand central figure of St. Cuthbert.

2. From the lowest tracery to the transom : Subjects beginning with the birth of St. Cuthbert, and continuing through the following periods, each with its own miracles as well as more ordinary events. *a.* His childhood, boyhood, and youth. *b.* His monastic life at Old Melrose, Ripon, and

Lindisfarne. *c.* His first retirement to Farne island. *d.* His life as bishop of Lindisfarne. *e.* His second retirement to Farne island, and death there. *f.* His shrines, and miracles after death.

3. In the tracery : Saints and Angels.

Here we may observe that nearly all the St. Cuthbert subjects are taken from his changeful and eventful life, and not more than three, or five at the most, from the period after his death. Again, many of the saints in the tracery lights have been persons with whom he was more or less connected on earth. In the St. William window it is far otherwise. There was in fact so little to be said or pictured concerning his life, that the designers of the window were obliged to take their subjects principally from the mass of legend that centred in his dead body and the local shrine. In the case of St. Cuthbert, there was no lack of marvellous and picturesque incident connected with the lifeless but uncorrupted body. Where, however, so much of his personal history had been recorded by the Venerable Bede and others, it was but natural to turn to their accounts for scenes characteristic of the particular saint. Healings at shrines, etc., which abound in the St. William window, might have been kept in stock, so as to serve for one saint as well as for another ; but when we see a nimbed figure of a boy at play with his head downwards and his heels in the air, or of a monk remonstrating with the crows that stole his thatch, we feel at once that we are in company with none other than St. Cuthbert himself.

In the present attempt to restore the panels to something like what may be conjectured to have been their original order, I have been guided in the first place by the order of the subjects in the lives of the saint, on which point I shall have more to say presently. But there is a further matter to be attended to in such a work as this, namely, the alternation of coloured backgrounds. These, which were generally red and blue, were so arranged in windows of this style and date, that each light, irrespective of transoms, was occupied by backgrounds of the same colour from the bottom of the window to the tracery. When, as in the present instances, the number of lights is uneven, there must have been one more light of red backgrounds than of blue, or *vice versa*. In the St. Cuthbert window, the large predominance of red

backgrounds among the existing panels shews that the original order of lights has been red, blue, red, blue, red ; while in the St. William window, it has been blue, red, blue, red, blue. (S. W. W. 206.)¹ It has accordingly been necessary to restore the proper succession of backgrounds as well as a historical sequence of subjects ; hence we have "Birth," Red background ; "Baptism," Blue, and so on, each row being read from left to right, and the whole series, as above stated, from the lowest row upward. Furthermore, as is also usual in windows of this kind, the backgrounds to the canopies are counterchanged with those of the lights below them, which affords an agreeable contrast and variety, without interfering with the generally *perpendicular* effect of the whole design. This effect of coloured backgrounds is seen to perfection in the magnificent east window of Gloucester Cathedral, which has fourteen lights, the two middle ones with red backgrounds, the rest red and blue alternately.

In the St. Cuthbert window, as in St. William's, one row of compartments is now filled with white glass and fragments ; five more panels contain subjects plainly not belonging to the original series. In the course of the separate descriptions, I have suggested ten subjects from St. Cuthbert's life, as having possibly occupied lost panels.²

With regard to the order of the descriptions, I have, after much consideration, followed a method differing from that adopted in the account of the St. William window. There, the panels are described according to their present confused arrangement, a plan which has the advantage of being convenient for comparing with the window on the spot. But, where one reader will do this, many will read the account without seeing the window ; and I conceive that for them it will be better to have the subjects, so far as may be, in their historical and original sequence.

I have made a list of the panels in their present order with references to the numbers according to the conjectured original order, and the pages at which the various descriptions may be found. This will enable any one to consult

¹ I shall in future refer to the account of the St. William window in this abbreviated form, the number referring to the page in vol. iii. of this journal.

² There are some of Torre's descriptions which I cannot identify as belong-

ing to anything now in the window, and of which I am unable to give any positive explanation. They may or may not all have related to original panels. See below, p. 374.

them in connection with the window itself with perfect ease ; while in the order adopted in this account, the reader may obtain such a connected and historical view of the whole series, as the window was originally designed to convey. (p. 370.)

A few words may here be said as to what we know of successive disarrangements and repairs. The first would probably be when Sir Thomas Fairfax, if the tradition be accepted, took out the glass to preserve it in the civil war time. (S. W. W. 204—206.) Similar stories, however, are told of King's College Chapel, and, I believe, of other churches in which much ancient glass has been preserved. Yet it is certain that the Puritans left much work for the glass-destroyers of the 18th and 19th centuries, not only in village churches, but in Cathedrals, as for example at Durham. If the York glass was taken out as it is stated to have been, Torre's notes, made in the latter half of the 17th century, probably represent the order in which the panels were replaced at the Restoration. This order is somewhat disconnected, but in the main historical, the childhood subjects being at the top, then the earlier and then the later manhood, with a few exceptions in each case, and, lastly, the shrine subjects at the bottom. It will be observed that this reverses the order from below upward. If however the panels were bestowed in boxes after removal, from above downward, in something like their original order, and the glaziers who replaced them, again from above downward, began at the tops of the boxes, then those panels which had been at the bottom of the window would go to the top, and *vice versa*, while the middle ones would remain pretty nearly where they were. In Gent's History of York (1730, p. 155) is a list of the subjects, in which a few can be identified, and these are almost invariably described as being where they are at present, so that between Torre's time and Gent's many panels must have been taken out and put back in different places. But since Gent describes some as being placed otherwise than at present, there must have been other disturbances since 1730 or thereabout. And some at least of these may have been in 1775, when the tracery-lights were re-glazed.

Each removal since the first has doubtless been for the purpose of repairs necessitated by the decay of the lead

work or by injury from actual violence. The first removal, in the civil war time, was probably effected in great haste, involving the unintentional destruction of some panels, and the more or less injury of all. Subsequent repairs have been executed in a rough and unskilful manner, as in the St. William window (S. W. W. 206.) Some of the panels are now so patched that they cannot be made out with any certainty; others again could not have been identified without Torre's notes, which, defective and ludicrously beside the mark as they are in some cases, furnish particulars now of the utmost importance, and shew that in the 17th century the window was in much better condition than it is at present.

The Carlisle subjects, described in connection with those in the present series with which they respectively correspond, are painted on the backs of the choir-stalls in Carlisle Cathedral, so as to be seen in the aisles. In the south aisle are seventeen subjects from the legend of St. Anthony, and twenty-two from that of St. Augustine, as might well have been thought appropriate in a church of Austin Canons; and in the north aisle, seventeen subjects from the legend of St. Cuthbert, who would naturally be honoured in a place with which he had been connected during life. (See York subjects, No. 67, p. 336.) In this aisle are also paintings of the twelve Apostles. All have been figured in outline, though very imperfectly, and without any of the original character, by Lady C. G. V. Harcourt.³ I have taken careful notes of all the St. Cuthbert paintings on the spot, and have made out some important particulars both in the subjects and in the accompanying rhymed couplets. The general arrangement is that of compartments following one another in six columns read from top to bottom, thus:—

³ Legends of St. Augustine, St. Anthony, and St. Cuthbert, painted on the back of the stalls in Carlisle Cathedral. Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons. 1868.

	York No.	Page.
1. Figure seated ; subject unknown		
2. Cuthbert forbid layks and plays	22	283
3. Angel curing his knee	24, 25	285
4. Vision of St. Aidan's soul	26	287
5. With his palfrey, fed on journey	29	291
6. Arrival at Melrose	32	295
7. Entertaining an angel	33	296
8. Boisil's prophecy	34	299
9. Preaching	36	301
10. Praying in sea	39	305
11. Fed by eagle	37, 38	303
12. Holy well	23	284
13. Consecration	61, 62	332
14. Expels demons and builds in Farne	50, 51, 55	318
15. Restores dying child	71	339
16. Dies in Farne	81	352
17. Crows ask his pardon	57	324
18. His body found whole	82†	356
19. Left blank from the first.		

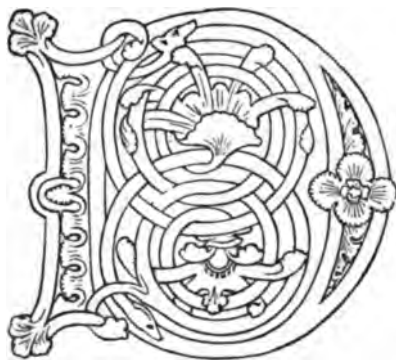
The paintings are generally coarse in character ; the prevailing pigments are, bright red, yellow ochre, and bright green. The faces are much more carefully executed than the rest of the figures, etc., and apparently by a superior hand. Some of the subjects have evidently been purposely defaced. The first of all, in the upper left hand corner, shews nothing more than the remains of a figure seated, and does not seem to have had an inscription. Each of the others has a couple of lines in English verse painted over it in bold black letters with red capitals. Such illustrative couplets are found in some windows, *e.g.*, at All Saints, North Street, and St. Martin's, Coney Street, York, but have never been introduced in the St. Cuthbert and St. William windows, or in the great east window of the Minster. Guntton has preserved a curious series formerly at Peterborough. A disadvantage in the use of them is that they break up the continuity of the lights too much, especially in lofty windows.

The two illuminated MSS. which are so often referred to in this article are both of considerably earlier date than the window. The earlier of these, cited as "Oxf. MS." is in the library of University College, Oxford, [MS. clxv.], and

has probably come from Durham Abbey. It is beautifully written on 200 leaves of vellum, size about 8 inches by 5, and is in an early binding. It contains Bede's prose life of St. Cuthbert, and two miracles from his Ecclesiastical History (iv. 30, 32), with seven supplementary chapters, which may be found in substance in the *Historia Translationis* (Boll. Acta SS. Martii, tom. III.³ p. 127. etc.) and in Symeon. Also a life of St. Cuthbert in leonine verse, by an unknown author, printed in Biogr. Misc. *Surtees Soc.* vol. 8. Each chapter in the prose portion has a drawing in coloured outline, illustrative of its contents, and there is a frontispiece in two compartments representing the scribe at his work, and presenting it finished to a monk. Also three initial letters, one with a figure of a monk reading at a desk, another with a grotesque animal, and a third with scroll work. These, and the frontispiece, are filled in with colour in the ordinary way. The writing bears a strong resemblance to that of several books given by Bp. Carileph to the monastery of Durham, and therefore written previous to the end of the eleventh century. It cannot be earlier than 1080, the date of the assassination of bishop Walcher, mentioned fo. 163, and the character of the writing shews that it is not much later. The pictures at the heads of the chapters seem earlier in style than the writing, and may perhaps have been done by an artist somewhat advanced in life. They are drawn in clear, bold outlines of red, green, blue, and purple, without shading, on the plain vellum surface. The figures are long and thin, often in exaggerated attitudes, the form of the body and limbs being displayed through the slight drapery in the classic manner. The monks are in monastic habits, of colours chosen solely for pictorial effect, and tonsured; some have blue hair, others red. The laymen are in short flowing tunics, sometimes with cloaks over these, and they are generally bareheaded, but sometimes in conical caps ending in tassels. The buildings are Romanesque in character, having low imbricated roofs, semicircular headed openings and panels, voluted capitals, characteristic turrets, apsidal terminations, etc. The representations of the shrine in the later illustrations are

³ In future cited as "Boll."

peculiarly interesting. The type is a stone substructure with arched openings, plinths, etc. On it a cloth hanging loosely like a table-cloth about half-way down; and on this a feretory with arched openings or panels on the side, and a high pitched imbricated roof with gable-crosses and cresting. In one illustration, the same feretory is being carried by two men on two poles, with the cloth hanging down below it. Altogether, though less archaic, the pictures bear a marked resemblance to those described and copied in *Archæologia*, xxiv., from the MS. Cædmon of the end of the tenth century, in the Bodleian Library. There are very often two successive stages in one incident represented in the same picture. See our woodcuts, from photographs of the originals, taken on a slightly reduced scale by Mr. James Hall, of Winterton, pp. 297, 341.



DURHAM ABBEY has probably been also the original home of the other volume, cited as "Lawson MS.," which is the property of Sir John Lawson, of Brough Hall, Bart. Several leaves are wanting; it now contains 200, in size about 5½ in. by 3¾ in., sadly cropped in a

later binding. The handwriting is of about A.D. 1150, and there are forty-five illuminations remaining, of which eight are represented in Raine's "St. Cuthbert," and of which six, together with the initial letter at the head of this paragraph from the same MS., are here, by the kind permission of Canon Raine, reproduced from the old blocks. The illustrated portion is contained in the first eighty leaves, and consists of Bede's prose life, with two chapters from his Eccl. Hist., as in the Oxford MS. The remainder contains the seven supplementary chapters, as in Oxford MS.; some further miracles; the "*Historica Narratio*," as in Boll. 138; more miracles, and matter relating to the history of the church of Durham

and its possessions. The pictures, as a rule, occupy a whole page, and generally have rectangular backgrounds of gold, occupying about one-third of the whole space, and surrounded by about an inch of buff, red, or blue; these are not indicated in the cuts. Many of them have architectural canopies, similar to those in the Carlisle paintings. They are not in outline, but painted in the ordinary style of illuminations, apparently with much more attention to truthful detail than those in the Oxford MS., though with rather less artistic skill and effect. They are drawn on a larger scale, and contain fewer figures. St. Cuthbert and other monks are in the regular black Benedictine habit, with leather boots, the former often with his crutch-handled stick or prior's staff, as at York and Carlisle. Ships, as in the Oxford MS., have both ends alike, or nearly so, with long beaked ends. Buildings, again, are wholly Norman in design and detail, and some are drawn in close accordance with Bede's descriptions. In all the Farne island scenes, the artist has been careful to introduce a little foreground of sea. See Nos. 60, 76, woodcuts from Raine. The tomb is represented as quite plain, without the feretory; in one case it has a ridged top, and in another there is a white cloth on it, as in the Oxford MS.

The principal original sources of information with regard to St. Cuthbert, namely, the contemporary life by the anonymous monk of Lindisfarne, the better known and somewhat later prose life by Bede, the history of the translation and peregrinations of the body of the saint from A.D. 875 to 1080,⁴ and the History of the Translation of 1104, are contained in the Bollandists' "Acta SS. Martii," Tom. III. The fabulous Irish Life, ("Libellus de Ortu," etc.) is printed in Biog. Misc., *Surtees Soc.*, vol. 8. Symeon's History of the Church of Durham is best given in the edition of Thomas Bedford, Lond. 1732. The "Libellus" of Reginald is contained in the first volume of the Surtees series; it abounds in posthumous miracles, but these are only very sparingly represented in the window. See above, p. 250. Capgrave's

⁴ The best editions of these three are to be found in *Bede's Opera Historica Minora*, with Appendix, published by the English Historical Society in 1849 (vol. ii.). Stevenson's translations of Bede and of Symeon are in *The Church His-*

torians of England (Pre-Reformation Series). Smith's Bede, fo. Cantab. 1722 is a very fine collection of Bede's historical works, including King Alfred's Anglo Saxon translation of the Ecclesiastical History.

Life is a mere compilation, and the lections, etc., in the Breviaries are taken from or founded on Bede.

Among modern books on St. Cuthbert, the most useful in connection with our present subject are, Raine's "St. Cuthbert," Durham, 1828, and Eyre's "History of St. Cuthbert," London, 1849. Both give copious extracts from original materials, with abundance of illustrative matter. Bede is easily accessible to the English reader in various translations, and from the point where his Life begins, namely, the call of the boy from his "layks and plays," it would in itself serve as almost a sufficient "guide" or "key" to the window. There are many Lives of St. Cuthbert, both ancient and modern, but those which have been mentioned are the most important.⁵

We now pass on to the descriptions of the various compartments, in their supposed original order.

I. FIGURES GROUPED AROUND ST. CUTHBERT.

1. ARCHBISHOP BOWET.⁶

(Now 1.) Before a desk, on which lies open a conventional book, kneels a mitred prelate, *junctis manibus*, with a cross between his hands, in blue chasuble (of modern glass), with remains of pallium. At the back are hangings of pink and white breadths alternately, with green spots. The panel is much mutilated, and consists to a great extent of fragments and patches, among which may be discerned parts of an inscription, fragmentary and unintelligible.

Per; fera; loria; hm .

Background, red.

Torre, 97 (1).⁷ "The bottom row of all, and in the first light an abp. robed B., pall, A. myter O., kneels at prayer before an altar, wth a book

⁵ The *Nova Legenda Angliæ* of Capgrave would scarcely be in the hands of the designers of the window, though there is a MS. copy of it now in York Minster Library. Capgrave was born in 1393, and died in 1464, but it is not known at what period of his life the *Nova Legenda* was compiled.

⁶ Notices of the persons represented

in this part of the window will be found after No. 10.

⁷ The numbers immediately following Torre's name are those given by himself; those in parentheses are Torre's numbers translated into a series beginning at the bottom of the window, to correspond with the other numberings.

thereupon open, grasping his cross-staff in both his hands, having underneath his name thus written, *Henricus Archiepus Ebor.*"

Identified as Abp. Bowet by the pallium, cross, and the Christian name preserved by Torre.

2. CARDINAL BEAUFORT.

(Now 2.) A mitred bishop in red chasuble (patched) with gold orphreys, the marginal one jewelled blue, with a rich crosier, is kneeling *junctis manibus*. A portion of chain-armour is seen as if through a square opening in the chasuble, and the hands appear to be protected by gauntlets. This, however, may be insertion. Behind him hangs a cardinal's hat with red cords, like that in the representation of St. Jerome at Methley (Yorkshire Archæological Journal, ii., 226). Floor of ornamental pavers. Hangings as in No. 1, but blue and green, with yellow spots. Fragments of inscription, *Ca is : 221*.

Background, blue.

Torre, 98 (2) "In second light kneels a bp., habited gu., striped O., myter A., crosier O. Underneath is written, Cuthbertus Epus."

Identified by the cardinal's hat, crosier, and the inscription, which probably was *Cardinalis Wintoniensis*. Torre's account of it cannot be right.

3. DUKE HUMPHREY.

(Now 3.) Before a desk, with conventional book, kneels a mutilated figure in blue cloak bordered white, over blue coat with white girdle, with both his hands elevated separately. On his head some remains of a coronet. A fragment of hangings as in No. 1. Inscription, *Dux Gloucestre*.

Background, red.

Torre, 99 (3). "In third light, the same bp., habited B., is again kneeling before an altar, with a book open upon it, and both his hands elevated and expanded, and under written, *St^{us} Cuthbertus*."

Identified by the inscription, which, however, Torre again gives wrongly. Has each figure originally had *Sancte Cuthberte ora pro nobis*?

4. CARDINAL KEMP.

(Now 5.) Before a desk kneels, *junctis manibus*, an archbishop in red chasuble, with gold border, jewelled blue and purple, and pallium, below which is shewn a green dalmatic over a red tunic and white alb. Hangings, blue and green, with yellow spots. Cardinal's hat, with red strings and single tassels as above, hanging up. Inscription, *Edwar Cardinalis Ebor.* The word *Edwar(dus)* cannot have formed any part of the original inscription, and indeed looks like a patch.

Background, blue.

Torre, 101 (5). "In fifth light kneels another abp. before an altar, with book open upon it, he being habited A., his cross-staff O."

Identified by the pallium, cross, cardinal's hat, and the words *Cardinalis Ebor.*

5. CARDINAL LONGLEY.

(Now 4.) Before a desk, on which is a white figured cloth, and over it a red one, with a conventional book lying open upon it, kneels a mitred and bearded bishop in albe and blue cope, with crosier, and *junctis manibus*. There appear to be some remains of a cardinal's hat and cords. Hangings as in No. 1. The following fragments of an inscription may be made out: *te p ata Th longley Epi dunelm qui istam fenestra fieri fecit.*

Background, red.

Torre, 100 (4). "In fourth light kneels another abp., before an altar, robed B., pall and myter A., cross-staff O."

Identified by the inscription, crosier, and cardinal's hat.

Canopies, 1—5. Very low, the central one quite rudimentary, being encroached on by the figure of St. Cuthbert.

It may be noticed that in these five compartments the hangings alternate, so that pink and white go with the red backgrounds, and blue and green with the blue ones. Browne thinks they allude to the arms of Longley, paly of *arg.* and *vert.*, but the "palewise" arrangement is merely

that of the breadths of cloth. In 4, 5, behind the thick iron bar, are inserted scraps of streaked ruby, etc., in the line hidden by it, apparently original.

6. HENRY V.

(Now 6.) At a desk, with white figured cover and conventional open book, kneels a king in red mantle lined with ermine, and high crown; with a smooth, youthful, earnest face; both his hands elevated separately, and his eyes looking upward and towards the central figure of St. Cuthbert, as do all the faces in this series. Behind him are hangings of alternate breadths of pale blue and green figured cloth, each piece having a row of yellow stars down the middle and down the seams, leaded in. On the remains of a scroll below, *Henric^o Quintus*, not "*quartus*," as wrongly given by Browne.

Background, red.

Torre, 92 (6)? "In the bottom lights are two rows of imagery, very large. In the first row and first light kneels a king, robed murry, furred erm., crowned O., before an altar, with a book open upon it."

In Niches of Canopy.—1. Lower half of a figure of a man? mutilated and displaced. 2. Man in white over green, and red cap. 3. Man with yellow hair and white beard, in white over red. 4. Angel with something (mutilated). 5. Christ seated. 6. Angel with "crowd," or instrument like a violin.

7. HENRY VI.

(Now 7.) At a desk with figured white cover, on which lies an open book, inscribed *Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*, kneels a king, much mutilated, crowned, with a face older-looking than the last, but smooth, unless there be a small beard hidden by the bar. Hangings as before. Inscription, purposely erased, but yet legible, *Henricus Sext^o rex*.

Background, blue.

Torre, 93 (7)? "In second light another king kneels before an altar, with book thereupon, lying open, and his name subscribed thus, viz., *Henricus Rex* [quintus (in darker ink and different hand?)]"

In Niches of Canopy.—1—3. Destroyed. 4—6. Christ standing, with cruciferous nimbus, robed in white over blue, in the central niche, and an angel with "crowd" on each side of him.

8. ST. CUTHBERT.

(Now 8.) A large full-length figure of St. Cuthbert, standing and looking rather eastward, nimbed, and wearing a white mitre, with indications of jewels in outline. His head and face are represented with much flowing long hair about them. His right hand, with white glove and jewel on back, is held up with two fingers extended, while with his left he holds the crowned and bearded head of St. Oswald, the crown gold with blue jewels. Some portions of the yellow crosier, with knops at intervals, may be discerned, as if it had leaned against his left arm, but the top is gone. The chasuble is blue, with gold orphrey set with red and green gems in the marginal portion.⁸ The orphrey is of the Y form above with the inverted A below, but with the central band carried through from top to bottom. The dalmatic is red, with a fringe of alternate portions of white and blue round the lower border and in the side slits; no tunicle visible. The albe has an apparel of gold over the feet, on which are shoes of the same. Remains of the inscription, *Sanctus Cuthbert*.

Background, red, diapered with white flowers.

Torre, 94 (8). "In 3^d light stand a large image of St Cuthbert robed B., pall myter O., wth one hand bored through. At his breast is sett the head of an old king crowned O. Underneath written—*Sanctus Cuthbertus*."

Lawson MS. As a frontispiece, a figure of St. Cuthbert in low mitre of white and gold, simple white crosier, shaded red and turned inward, in the left hand, and the right held with two fingers extended, ungloved. Chasuble light blue, very thin and flowing, and without lining, or any ornament save a red collar. Dalmatic green, edged with red at the skirts and cuffs. Stole and maniple red and very narrow, but much spread out at the ends and fringed, albe white, without apparels, shoes red. A monk in black habit, omitted in the woodcut, is prostrating himself on the ground, and kissing the saint's right foot as he holds it up with both hands. See Raine's "St. Cuthbert," p. 15; "The Priory of

⁸ These are not leaded in as the stars in the hangings are, or as similar representations of gems are in some windows, but fused on to corresponding places left white in the yellow orphrey, by means of

glass-cement round each piece of coloured glass. There is a fragment done in the same way in a window in St. Michael's, Spurriergate.

Hexham," i. 25—(Surtees Soc. vol. 44.) The block has been mislaid, or would be used here.

This figure, earlier than the one in the window by about 300 years, may be compared with it in respect of the absence of St. Oswald's head, and the more simple vestments. It is very like figures of bishops on seals and tombs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In a Niche of Canopy. Christ standing, in white over purple. The sides gone.

9. JOHN OF GAUNT.

(Now 9.) At a desk, on which lies an open book, inscribed *Domine ne in futuro tuo arguas me neque in ira tua corripas me* ~~Alis'~~ *ere me(i) domine qm inf(r)mus sum sana me dom . . .*, kneels, *junctis manibus*, a man, crowned, in light pink-purple ermine-bordered mantle, and under-dress of the same colour, with white girdle. His face middle-aged, smooth, but with large beard on chin. Behind his head there appears to be something like a white cloth hanging on a white bar. Hangings as before. Under the figure, *Johēs dux acq'tannie & lancastrie*.

Background, blue.

Torre, 96 (10). "In 5th light kneels [another king *erased*] a duke [superscribed]—John of Gaunt [*in margin*] robed murry, crowned O., wth both hands layd upon his breast. [Johēs Dux Aquitanie et Lanc. (*in darker ink and different hand.*)"]

In Niches of Canopy. Remains of figures in a mutilated condition, but in the eastern lower one is a perfect old man in white over purple, and green head-cloth, holding a yellow book with his right hand under the white robe.

10. HENRY IV.

(Now 10.) At a desk, with conventional book, kneels, *junctis manibus*, a crowned king, with a youthful face and forked beard, in pink-purple mantle with ermine tippet and edging. Two white cords with yellow tassels hang in front of him. Hangings as before. Under the figure, *Menticus quartus Rex*, in a shattered state.

Background, red.

Torre, 95 (9). "In 4th light kneels a king robed murry, mantle A., crowned O., with prayer book open before him, layed on an altar. [Edward. tertius. in a different hand.]"

In Niches of Canopy. Below, standing in recesses below sub-canopies, over pendants, two old men, bearded, in white, with red caps. Above, Christ seated, in white robe over blue : in his hand a book. In the side niches, remains of angels.

Canopies 6—10. Consist of very fine and lofty tabernacle work in white glass, with niches and figures as described above, p. 261—264. Backgrounds of tabernacle-work, blue and red, counterchanged with those of panels below.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE PRECEDING SUBJECTS.

ST. CUTHBERT was born in Northumbria, of Anglian parentage, some time about A.D. 637. Up to his eighth year he took great delight in boyish sports, in which he greatly excelled, but about that time he had a special call from God, and became grave and serious. When about fifteen he forsook the world and was admitted as a monk at Old Melrose, A.D. 651, and a few years after was made guest-master in Alchfrith's Monastery at Ripon. He soon, however, returned to Melrose, where he succeeded Boisil as prior. There he was famous for his zeal in preaching, and for his miracles. Having been a monk thirteen years, he was removed from Melrose to Lindisfarne, now called Holy Island, off the coast of Northumberland. As prior of Lindisfarne he lived twelve years, a model of monastic piety. He then retired to the neighbouring islet of Farne, where he remained as an anchorite for nine years. Having passed this period in solitude, he was with difficulty induced to be a bishop, and was consecrated Mar. 26, A.D. 685. As he had been a model monk, so was he now a model missionary bishop ; but towards the end of two years, foreseeing his end approaching, he retired again to his longed-for solitude in Farne, Christmas, A.D. 686, where he died about eleven weeks later. The circumstances of his last illness and decease are related by Bede, from the oral account which he

received from Herefrid, an eye-witness, in a very minute and touching manner. His body was borne in a boat to Lindisfarne, and there buried in a stone coffin within the church. Miracles were wrought at his tomb. Eleven years after his burial, the body was found entire, flexible, fresh, and undecayed. During the three hundred years that followed, the sacred treasure was sometimes being carried from place to place by the monks in their flights from the Danes and other enemies, sometimes resting at one place, sometimes at another.

“ For southward did the Saint repair ;
 Chester-le-Street and Ripon saw
 His holy corpse, ere Wardilaw
 Hailed him with joy and fear ;
 And, after many wanderings past,
 He chose his lordly home at last
 Where his cathedral, huge and vast,
 Looks down upon the Wear.”

Marmion, ii. 14.

After being deposited for a short time in a temporary church, constructed of boughs of trees, and for three years in the “ White Church,” both at Durham, the body of the saint was translated by Bishop Ealdhune to the “ Great Church,” Sept. 4, A.D. 999. For this and other translations, see below, Nos. 83, 84, 85. For the destruction of the shrine and burial of the body (A.D. 1537—42), and the examination in 1827, see Raine’s “ St. Cuthbert,” 172—228 ; Eyre, 177—206 ; Baring-Gould’s “ Lives,” March, p. 359, note.

St. Cuthbert’s Life will be discussed in further detail in connection with the various compartments described below.

When the monks fled with the body of St. Cuthbert, A.D. 875, they carried the head of St. Oswald and other relics with it, which were seen in the coffin in 1104. In the old Anglo-Saxon poem, *De situ Dunelmi*, which has been often printed (see *Surtees Soc.*, vol. 51, p. 153), St. Oswald’s head is expressly descanted on among the glories of Durham.

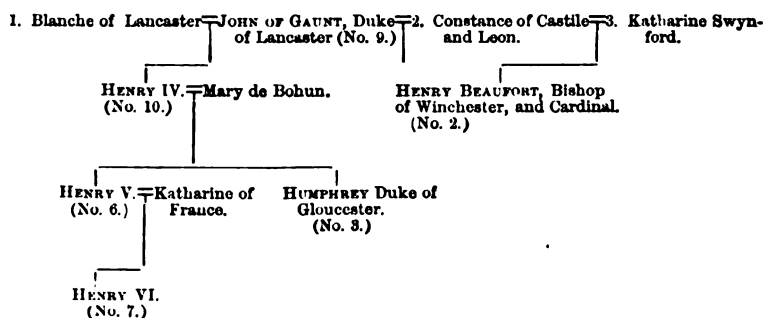
 ; ðes clæne cyninges heofud
 Osuualdes, Engla hleoð,

“ And the clean king’s head,
 “ Oswald’s, the Angles’ protector.”

The crowned head of St. Oswald is accordingly the distinguishing attribute of St. Cuthbert, but is not found in the earliest representations (see above, p. 263). In the seal of Bp. Robert de Insula (1274—83) the figure of St. Cuthbert appears with St. Oswald's head, for the first time, and then it becomes a constant accompaniment. The convent used a seal consisting of a beautiful classic head of Jupiter Serapis, perhaps picked up on the site of some Roman station, set in a rim, with the words + CAPVT SANCTI OSWALDI REGIS.

The other persons represented in this lower portion of the window are—(1) The three kings of the House of Lancaster, viz., Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, with their illustrious fore-elder, John of Gaunt; (2) Prelates and statesmen connected with that house, by blood or otherwise, including Longley, Bishop of Durham, the donor of the window. Browne accordingly remarks that it “may not improperly be termed the window of the House of Lancaster.”⁹ Of the four prelates represented, two are Archbishops of York and three Cardinals and Lords Chancellors. The remaining statesman, and a king's brother, is the famous Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

The relationship of the Lancastrian kings and their kinsmen represented in the window is shewn in this table:—



JOHN OF GAUNT, the fourth son of Edward III., was born at Ghent, about 1340, and was created Earl of Derby and Duke of Lancaster. The Duchy of Aquitaine was granted to him in 1390. He appears in the window as father of the House of Lancaster, and, moreover, as a famous Englishman, ‘Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster.’ He died at the Bishop of Ely’s Palace, in Holborn, February 1399,

⁹ *York Minster*, p. 234.

and was buried in St. Paul's, London, where there was a noble tomb with effigies of himself and of his second wife, Constance. It is copied in Milman's "St. Paul's," p. 81, from an engraving in Dugdale. His will is printed in Test. Ebor. i. 223.

HENRY IV., the first of the three Lancastrian Henries, who together ruled for about sixty years, was the only son of John of Gaunt by his first wife Blanche, daughter of Henry Grismound, Duke of Lancaster. He was born at Bolingbroke, in Lincolnshire, in 1366, became very popular in consequence of his martial prowess when young, and was declared king Sept. 30, 1399, about seven months after his father's death. This was effected by a Parliamentary revolution in his favour, the deposition of Richard II., and a disregard of the strict rules of hereditary descent, so that he was considered by some as a usurper. He reigned fourteen years, marked by the rise of Lollardism and by incessant revolts. Worn out by disease, he was seized by some alarming attack while engaged in devotion in Westminster Abbey, and was carried into the Jerusalem Chamber, where the famous scene of the young Prince Henry's removing the crown may have taken place, as represented by Shakspeare. The touching account of Henry's death is well given in Stanley's "Westminster," 1868, 374—8, where the author refers to "the devotedness characteristic of the Lancastrian House." Henry IV. died Mar. 20, 1413, and was buried at Canterbury, as he had directed in his will. It was asserted by the Yorkists that the body had been thrown into the Thames on the way, and the empty coffin buried with funeral rites. In 1832, however, the king's body was found to be intact, and in wonderful preservation. The tomb is under one of the arches that enclose the site of Becket's shrine, on the north side of Trinity Chapel, and there is a chantry projecting from the aisle close by.

HENRY V., eldest son of Henry IV. and Mary de Bohun, was born at Monmouth, Aug. 9, 1388. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, under the care of his uncle, Henry Beaufort, and has been immortalized by Shakspeare as the roystering "Prince Hal." He succeeded to the throne immediately on the death of his father in 1413, and reigned nearly ten years. His marriage to the Princess Katharine of France took place in 1420, and his reign was

principally marked by the battle of Agincourt and other conquests in France. He died near Paris, Aug. 31, 1422, and was brought over with much pomp and buried at Westminster, near St. Edward's shrine. He had a peculiar veneration for the Abbey, as the scene of his father's death and his own "conversion," for which see Stanley, 145, 377. A great part of the nave was built by his order, and by reason of his austere piety and his zeal against heresy, his splendid tomb was regarded almost as that of a saint. His saddle and helmet still remain—that bruised helmet, probably, which he refused to have borne before him in his triumphal procession after Agincourt, for that he would have the praise chiefly given to God, as Stanley suggests. But it is perhaps only a tilting helm, and not what would be worn in battle.

HENRY VI., only son of Henry V. and Katharine of France, was born at Windsor on St. Nicolas' day, 1421, and succeeded his father when less than nine months old. The government was administered by his uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, and his great uncle the bishop of Winchester, the two latter of whom appear in the window, (Nos. 3, 2.) In 1443 he remodelled a small college at Cambridge which he had founded in 1441, and constituted it as the society now known as King's College. He also founded Eton College as a nursery to it. He made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Cuthbert at Durham in 1448, and was entertained for some days in the castle by Bp. Neville. After a reign of about forty years, during which he had very little share in the direction of public affairs, he was dethroned in favour of Edward, son of Richard, duke of York. This was in 1461, and he died in the Tower of London in 1471. He was personally revered for his private virtues and public charities, and indeed was popularly regarded as a saint. He was buried first at Chertsey Abbey, where it was said that miracles were wrought at his tomb, and afterwards in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, where the miracles were continued.

Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster was built to receive his shrine when the pope should agree to his canonization. Henry VII. applied to Pope Julius II., who had declared that the obscurity in which Henry's enemies had enveloped his miracles was at last to be dispersed, for this purpose, and

Fuller gives a very amusing summary of the papal response, the result of which was, as Holinshed says, that "the said king left off his suit in that behalfe, thinking better to save his monie than to purchase a new holidaie of St. Henri with so great a price, remitting to God the judgement of his will and intent" (*Chron.* II. 691.) Bacon thought that the pope, knowing the king was reputed "but for a simple man," desired that there should be "a distance kept between innocents and saints." (*History of King Henry VII.*) As the king was not canonized, we find no provision for him in the Missals or Breviaries, but in some of the half-authorized Horæ and Primers we have "Suffragium de Beato Henrico rege," consisting of an Antiphon, Versicle, Response, and Collect. There were few large towns in England, it is said, in which an image of him was not set up in the principal church.¹⁰ In Archbishop Booth's Register is a monition against any persons venerating some image of him in York Minster, dated 27 Oct. 1479, when, perhaps, his name was erased in the window (see p. 261), and his image removed from the choir-screen. The order seems to have been issued mainly in deference to the pope, who had not canonized Henry, and to Edward IV., who had superseded him as king. (*York Fabric Rolls, Surtees Soc.* vol. 35, pp. 208, 82 n.)

It appears that all the three Lancastrian Henries had more or less reputation for sanctity, and that they should be represented as they are in the window would doubtless be felt very appropriate by Bishop Longley the donor, and by the Lancastrian party generally, which in Yorkshire was particularly strong. The posthumous claims of Henry VI., it is true, could have had nothing to do with his appearing in a window executed during his life. But such patrons of learning, such friends to the church, such foes to heresy, as were all these three Lancastrian sovereigns, might well be thought worthy of places of honour in one of the noblest windows of so great a Minster.

¹⁰ We have perhaps a memorial of the veneration in which this king was held, in the name "Good Henry," applied to the "Mercury Goose-foot," *Chenopodium Bonus Henricus*. Botanists consider it to be "doubtfully native." It is cultivated and esteemed as a vegetable by

cottagers and others, who boil it like spinach. It may have been introduced, and named after "Good Henry." Many plants, such as "St John's wort," etc., appear to have been named in honour of recognised saints.

HENRY BEAUFORT was one of the sons of John of Gaunt and Katharine Swynford, who were legitimated by Act of Parliament in 1397. He took Holy Orders, and after having been dean of Wells and bishop of Lincoln, succeeded William of Wykeham as bishop of Winchester in 1404. Afterwards he was made cardinal of St. Eusebius, and papal legate, was three times chancellor under Henry V., and once during the minority of Henry VI. In 1417 he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but on the whole he was in his habits more the soldier and politician than the bishop. He was frequently at variance with his nephew and rival in statesmanship, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, whose death was laid to his account, though there is no clear evidence against him in the matter. So far from "dying and making no sign," as represented by Shakspeare, the cardinal when about to die had the office of the dead sung in his presence, and his will publicly read. On the next morning a mass of Requiem was celebrated before him, and his will read again. He then took leave of his friends and was carried back to his chamber to die, April 11, 1447. He was buried in Winchester Cathedral, where his tomb, with an effigy in cardinal's robes, still remains in his beautiful though mutilated chantry. He was enormously wealthy, and the hospital of St. Cross near Winchester was refounded and rebuilt by him. His executor offered the king a gift of £2000, but Henry refused it, saying, "He was always a most kind uncle to me while he lived—God reward him," etc. (*Lingard*, ch. xxiii. note 116.) He was educated at Oxford, and left 500 marks for the new divinity schools there. Archbishop Kemp was one of his executors. (*Munim. Acad. Oxon.* Rolls ser. p. 333.) He directed the Oxford education of his nephew Henry V. (see above), and doubtless has his place in the window as one of the most distinguished members of the royal House of Lancaster.

HUMPHREY duke of Gloucester was the fourth son of Henry IV., by his queen Katharine of France, and so a younger brother of Henry V. He was "protector" of England during the minority of his nephew Henry VI., and was generally in a state of rivalry and contention with his uncle Cardinal Beaufort (see above). Dean Hook in his *Life of Abp. Kemp*, says that the duke "was a man utterly devoid of principle, both in domestic life and in the affairs of

state. Nevertheless, he obtained the title of the 'good Duke Humphrey,' because he took the popular side and advocated the war, to which his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, was opposed." (*Lives of Abps. of Canterbury*, vol. v., p. 211.) After the accession of Henry VI., he was very active in repressing Lollardism and revolts. He also took a leading part in that long contest with France which ended in our loss of that country. At one time he seized a valuable collection of books belonging to the Louvre, and this formed the basis of the fine library which he presented to the University of Oxford, and of which the catalogues are printed in the *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls series), p. 758. All these books were destroyed or dispersed by Edward VI.'s visitors, and only two of them are now known to exist, one in Oriel and the other in Corpus Library. He was styled the founder of the Divinity School at Oxford, to which at least he was a principal benefactor. (*Macray's Annals of Bodl. Lib.* 1—12.) He died, probably a natural death, Feb. 28, 1447, and was buried in St. Alban's Abbey, to the fraternity of which he had been admitted in 1423, and where there is an elaborate monument with niches and statues.

HENRY BOWET was installed as Archbishop of York, Dec. 9, 1407, after a vacancy of two years and a half, during which two persons were nominated; Thomas Longley, dean of York, afterwards bishop of Durham, and donor of the St. Cuthbert window, obtained the king's assent to his nomination by the chapter. The pope appointed Robert Halom, chancellor of Salisbury, whereat the king was much displeased, and the end of the matter was that Henry Bowet, bishop of Bath and Wells, was translated to York. He had held minor preferments previously, and been lord treasurer of England. The most memorable thing related of him is, that in 1417, when the Scotch were taking advantage of the French war to invade the north of England, and had already besieged Berwick and Roxburgh, the archbishop, though by reason of age and infirmity unable to walk or ride, had himself borne in a chair with the English army, and by this means so animated them that they fell on the Scotchmen and drove them back with great slaughter. (*Drake, Eboracum*, p. 440.) It is not to be wondered at that the brave old man was pictured in the window while his noble conduct was fresh in men's minds, and the donor may well

have felt that but for this he might have lost the fair patrimony of St. Cuthbert. Archbishop Bowet died Oct. 20, 1423, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of York Minster, where one of the most sumptuous of monuments still preserves his memory.¹¹ His attachment to the House of Lancaster may be inferred from his having founded a chantry in which Henry IV. and cardinal Beaufort were to be prayed for. (*Browne*, 209.)

JOHN KEMP succeeded Bowet, after another contention with the pope, who wished to prefer Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln. But the king, with the dean and chapter, made so strong an opposition, that the pope, as Drake says, "was glad to draw in his horns," and, in order not to lose his authority, sent a mandate to the citizens of York directing them to acknowledge Kemp, the nominee of the chapter, as their archbishop. He was accordingly translated from London in 1426, having been archdeacon of Durham, and bishop of Rochester and of Chichester previously. Longley, bp. of Durham, was one of the prelates who attended at his enthronization. Seventeen years after, he was in such favour at Rome as to be made cardinal of St. Balbina. In 1426 he was made lord chancellor of England, and again in 1450. In 1452 he was translated to Canterbury and made cardinal of St. Rufina. His chief ecclesiastical preferments are summed up in the line written by his kinsman Thomas Kemp, bishop of London :—

"Bis primas, ter præsul erat, bis cardine functus ;"

to which Fuller added,

"Et dixit legem bis cancellarius Anglis."

He was a great politician and statesman, and at one time was the leader of the Beaufort party against that of duke Humphrey. He doubtless has his niche in the window both as the contemporary archbishop, and as one of the leading statesmen of the reign of Henry VI. There is an admirable

¹¹ "The astonishing number of slender prisms, arches, pediments, and spires, rising above, standing between, retiring behind, or pendent before others, their fine proportions, and mysterious connections, are a maze which puzzles every visitor with its complicated formation."—

List of Engravings by William Fowler, of Winterton. 1825. See the engraving of Bowet's "shrine," in that collection, Appendix No. 2, from a drawing by the writer's father, Joseph Fowler, published Dec. 8, 1813.

account of him in Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. v. chap. xx.

THOMAS LONGLEY, whose name often appears in the north country orthography as "Langley," was the son of a Lancashire gentleman, and was much patronized by John of Gaunt, whose service he early entered. He was educated at Cambridge, and, adopting Holy Orders as his profession, rose very rapidly in consequence of his devotion to the House of Lancaster. In 1400 he was a canon of York, and in 1401 dean. In 1405 he became Lord Chancellor, and was elected to the see of York. In consequence however of the attempts of the pope to force another man on the chapter (see notice of Bowet) he was never installed, but in 1406 he obtained the bishopric of Durham, and ceased to be chancellor. In 1411 he was made cardinal; from 1417 to the death of Henry V. in 1422 he was again chancellor, and once more from 1423 to 1425. Of his reparation of the Galilee at Durham, and of other works there and elsewhere, notices may be seen in Will. de Chambre, cap. vi. (*Surtees Soc.* vol. 9, p. 146.) He gave 238*l.* 17*s.* towards the Durham Cloisters, for the glazing of which by himself and bishop Skirlaw, see on compartment 11. He died Nov. 20, 1437, at Auckland, and was buried in accordance with the provision of his will (*Scriptores Tres; Surt. Soc.* vol. 9, p. ccxli.) "in ecclesia mea Dunelmensi in capella beatæ Mariæ Virginis vocata le Galilee, in loco ad hoc jam per me disposito." Here his tomb still remains, but the "marble chantry" which probably enclosed it, has long ago disappeared. He bequeathed vestments to York Minster, and a silver cup to archbishop Kemp. But his will makes no mention whatever of the St. Cuthbert window, which he "fecit fieri" at York, so that it was probably ordered and begun during his lifetime, *i.e.*, previous to Nov. 20, 1437, perhaps sixteen or seventeen years later than the St. William window (*S. W. W.* p. 345). It must at any rate be later than 1426, the date of Kemp's accession, as indeed its style alone would sufficiently indicate.

II. HISTORY OF ST. CUTHBERT.

11. BIRTH.

(Now 80.) In a bed with purple coverlet sits propped up a woman with long golden hair, in white night-dress, holding up a nimbed infant to a lady in blue, with horned head-dress and cauls, who is kneeling to receive the child. In the background, a woman in plain veil, looking compassionately at the mother. Rays of yellow light are coming down from above, over the child. The rest of the panel is occupied by a representation of a building consisting of two quadrangles, with an arch leading from the one to the other. The lead roofs with embattled parapets, and the end of a chapel, are also shewn. As if looking out from the parapet in the direction of the light, is a mitred bishop holding a crosier in his left hand, conformable in size to the rest of the figures, while the monastery from which he looks is necessarily on a much smaller scale, in order to be got in.

Background, red.

Insertion, part of a figure in an ermine tippet, just above the rays of light.

Torre, 23 (82). "In 2^d light is a great church, at the far corner whereof appears a bp.'s head mytred A. & crosier O. ; on his right hand are sev^{all} long rays of golden light issuing from a cloud & shining upon 3 nuns y^t sitt underneath, 2 of them being habited A., the 3^d B."

According to the romantic *Libellus de ortu*, the mother of St. Cuthbert was the daughter of a Christian king of Leinster, who was slain by a heathen king of Connaught together with his wife and sons. His little daughter however, was spared, and taken into the service of the queen of Connaught. In course of time the king was so struck by her beauty that she fell a victim to his sinful desires, "et secretioribus silvis eductam, viribus utens, oppressit. Ista sane oppressio conceptionis Cuthberti celebratio fuerat." (*Libell. cap. v.*) As her time drew near, she was sent in charge of the king's mother, to a monastery, where she gave birth to a man-child. No sooner was the child born than the house was filled with heavenly light, and the neighbours, thinking it was on fire, ran to put it out. The bishop also saw the light

while praying at night in his oratory, and he too went to see what was the matter. Finding the house full of fire, yet unconsumed, he gave thanks to God for so great a miracle, and obtained leave from the king to adopt the child. (*Libell.* cap. vii.) With the earlier part of this story we may compare the Keltic account of the conception of St. Kentigern, and the light from heaven is a regular incident in connection with the birth of saints. In the case of St. Wilfrid for instance, it is told in almost the same words, even to the neighbours coming to put out the fire. The Irish story of the origin of St. Cuthbert was adopted by Capgrave and others in the middle ages, and no doubt met with general acceptance, though none of it seems to have found its way into the Breviaries. At Durham, we are told that Bps. Skirlaugh and Langley caused to be set in glass in the windows of the east alley of the cloister, the whole story of the life and miracles of St. Cuthbert. "And ther yow should have sene and beholden his mother lying in her child bedd ; and how that after she was delyvered the brighte beames dyd shyne from heaven upon her and upon the child, where he dyd lye in the cradle, that to every man's thinking the Holie Ghoste had overshadowed hime. For every one that did se yt did thinke that the house had bene set all on fyre, the beams dyd shine so bright over all the house, both within and without." (*Rites of Durham, Surtees Soc.* vol. 15, p. 65.) There is however nothing of this in the Carlisle series, which seems to be founded solely on Bede's more historical life.

In the York window, the lady in blue is doubtless the king's mother (*Libell.*, cap. vi.) and the other person the midwife. The nightdress of the young mother is remarkable as an early example of not lying naked in bed. (See S. W. W. 225.)

12. BAPTISM.

(Now 70.) By an octagonal white font filled with blue water, stands a mitred bishop in red cope with green collar, supporting on both his hands, over the font, a nimbed and naked infant. A tonsured ecclesiastic in surplice and white fur almuce with pendent tails, holds a book open for the bishop to read from. There also stand around, (1), a man,

bareheaded, in blue gown, red tunic, and green hose (Torre's 3d); (2), a lady in horned head-dress and red gown open in front and shewing blue petticoat, or perhaps patched with blue glass (Torre's 1st); (3), another lady in horned head-dress and purple gown patched blue, holding a lighted taper (Torre's 4th); (4), an old woman in pale green dress and white kerchief. Something like a chrisom near the font, but this is doubtful.

Background, blue.

Torre, 30 (79). "In 4th light stands a bp. habited gu., mytred O., baptizing a child w^{ch} he holds in his arms over the font A., a white monk standing by & holding open a book before him; also 4 sureties stand about the font, the 1st being a man, habitt and leggs gu.; the 2^d a woman habited V; the 3^d, a monk habited B., wth caul hanging down his breast gu.; the 4th a woman habited B."

"And also the Bishop baptized the childe and did call him Mullocke, in the Irish tounge, the which is in Englishe as much as to saie Cuthbert. The foresaid Bushop's name, who baptized and had the keapinge of the vertuose and Godly childe is called Ugenius. The name of the citie that the childe Sainte Cuthbert was baptized in is called Hardbrecins." (*Rites*, p. 65, *Libellus*, cap. ix.) All this story of the infancy is rejected as fabulous by the Bollandists, who say, "Servent Hiberni suum Nulluhoc ejulantem, et relinquant Anglo-Saxonibus Cuthbertum" (Boll. p. 95), but it appears in Capgrave.

One sponsor of each sex was the regular provision, though sometimes an additional one of the same sex as the child was allowed; hence our present rule. The lighted candle was placed by the priest in the child's right hand, with the words, "N. Accipe lampadem ardentem," etc. (*York Manual*, *Surtees Soc.*, vol. 63, p. 17.) The old woman in plain veil, or kerchief, who appears also in No. 11, is doubtless the midwife.

13. THE BOY CUTHBERT AND HIS MOTHER.

(Now 81.) In a green field with trees, small plants, and white rocks, very conspicuous on each side, also a portion of a yellow fence made by entwining thorns on upright

posts, basket fashion,¹² are two figures, viz. : 1. A boy with close yellow hair, nimbed, in short white tunic and blue hose, inclining and looking towards, 2, a tall lady in horned head-dress and gold cauls, blue gown, and white figured cloak trailing on the ground, inclining and holding both hands towards the boy. In the centre of the ground is a large patch of red, marked as for grass, etc., evidently original.

Background, red.

Torre. Not identified.

The bishop who adopted Cuthbert having died, both he and his mother were in great distress, especially dreading lest they should suffer harm from the king. The mother proposing to her son that they should flee from that land, he at once consented, "quia typo Domini salvatoris suis subesse parentibus non omisit." (*Libell.*, xii.) It seems pretty certain that this is the subject of the present panel. The lady and boy are exactly as represented in others. The red patch is probably put in solely for the sake of variety in colour.

14. LEARNING THE PSALTER.

(Now 61.) A much mutilated and patched compartment, which could not have been made out but for Torre's description of it when in a more perfect condition, though even then largely patched. What is left of the original work seems to be, a green field with three or four sheep in it, grazing, and a fine clump of trees with white tops and yellow trunks. The close brimless hat, some patches of red and white clothing, a small barrel with cork in bunghole slung to his waist, and the booted leg, with the staff as of a crook, apparently of Torre's shepherd. In front of him stoops a figure in white, which now looks like a woman with a white yellow-edged hood, a vessel like a bucket on her arm and a triangular outside pocket, with arms crossed on breast, probably substituted for Torre's man in white at the last general repairs.

Background, blue ?

¹² Like the hurdle in a window at Thornhill (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, I. 108).

Insertions. The face of some other man instead of that of the shepherd, and other patches. The female figure above mentioned, in whole or in part. A nimbed man in red, reclining on a sort of couch with red and blue fringe, and yellow figured coverlet. He seems to hold a long scroll with *Surgite de* *et ecce*

Torre, 36 (75). "In 5th light sits a saint habited gu. glory O., and about him sev^{all} sheep feeding, and trees growing in a green vale. Beneath stands a man in white rayment, leaning his head downwards to read in a book held open before him by a certain shepherd, wth a golden crook in his hand, habited gu. & A."

The little boy, before the death of the bishop, had fully learned the Creed and Psalms of David. (*Libell.*, cap. xiv.) He also was employed, like David, among the sheepfolds, when called by God to a higher life. (*Bede*, *Vit. S. Cuthb.*, cap. iv. *Vit. Anon.*, i., 3.) The artist seems to have combined these, and represented the boy Cuthbert as learning the Psalter from a shepherd. On this ancient custom, of learning the Psalter by heart, both in the East and in the West, see Neale on the Psalms, *Introd.*, pp. 4—6. In some old MS. breviaries the psalms are omitted, being only indicated by their first words, as if supposed to be known by heart.

[15. LOSING HIS PSALTER IN THE SEA?]

[16. THE LOST PSALTER RESTORED BY A SEA-CALF?]

It is possible that these fabulous incidents of Cuthbert's boyhood may have occupied two of the lost panels. As he and his mother were embarking for Britain, he let his Psalter fall into the sea, to the great consternation of them both. But it was swallowed by a whale, and on their landing in England was at once vomited up uninjured by a sea-calf. (*Libell.* xiv., xviii.) Simeon of Durham tells us how, long after Cuthbert's death, his book of the Gospels was lost in the sea, and three days afterwards was found uninjured on the shore. (*Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, xxvi., xxvii.) This book was one of the most cherished possessions of the Church, and now exists as "Cotton MS., Nero D. 4." It still shews indications of having been wetted as a book well clasped and in a leather bag would be, even after a pro-

longed immersion, that is to say, each leaf is stained by wet for some little distance from the edge. There are books of the same date at Durham which present the same appearance, having probably been wetted at the same time. For a greatly embellished version of Simeon's account, see *Rites*, p. 56. The Irish story is probably founded on that of Simeon, and on the Book of Jonah.

17. COMMITTED TO CARE OF GUARDIAN.

(Now 75.) In a green field are trees with white trunks and white and red tops, and a very pretty yellow leaved plant with three bright red flowers, also, on a rising ground, a post-mill, shewing clothed sails, steps, and doorway. A white cow lies on the ground, and there are the following figures :—1. A little boy, nimbed, in white diapered tunic, yellow belt, and red hose. 2. A bishop in blue with purple tippet furred white, and mitre on his head, with a crosier in his left hand and his right held out to the boy as if to introduce him to, 3, a man in diapered red tunic furred white, blue hose, and diapered green head-cloth, with a short dagger in a sheath at his belt, and his right hand raised as if to take the boy.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

When the bishop who adopted the child Cuthbert was near his end, he committed him to the care of a man of great sanctity and high birth, to whom boys of noble parentage were sent to be trained for the service of God, and who was now about to cross over into Britain with his boys, in order to keep them away from their relations. (*Libell.* xv.)

It is not stated whether the guardian of Cuthbert was a layman or not, but his being a nobleman seems to have been the leading idea in the mind of the artist. In the order of time, this panel ought to precede Nos. 13 and 14. (See p. 276.) Windmills were introduced into England by the Crusaders in the 13th century, and were doubtless quite familiar objects in the 15th. The one in the window is exactly like the old post-mills, the last of which are but just now being swept away. The head-cloth is similar to

that in the well-known portrait of Henry IV. in many editions of the histories of England by Rapin, Hume, and Goldsmith, from an original painting formerly at Hampton Court, in Herefordshire, and now at Cassiobury.

[18. VISION OF HOUSE ATTACHED TO ANCHOR ?]

The *Libellus* (cap. xvi., xvii.) has a long story of a vision of a house attached to an anchor in the depths of the sea, which was granted to the boy as they crossed over to Britain. This may have been represented in one of the lost panels, especially as there is something like an anchor inserted as a patch in one of the existing ones. (See No. 56.) It comes in the Irish *Libellus* by way of a digression before the embarkation, which may account for its being so placed in the window, if so it was.

19. EMBARCATION IN STONE BOAT.

By some rocks with starfishes on them lies, as if in the water, a yellow wooden boat with oars in it. A lady with horned head-dress and red gown, furred white over blue under-dress, appears to be conducting to the boat a boy with close yellow hair and nimbed, in white tunic powdered with letters n or u. Four men stand by, of whose figures the following parts remain :—1. Green tunic, white low hat over close-fitting coif, and blue hose ; at his white belt a sheath for a short dagger. 2. A pair of white legs. 3. White tunic spotted black, and green hose. 4. Red tunic, blue hose, and green head-cloth. The heads are mutilated and displaced.

Background, blue.

Insertions. A piece of purple glass where the boy's legs ought to be. A piece of white with an ape on it.

Torre, 40 (69). " In 4th light stand 6 persons together : 1st, a boy, habit & glory A., hair O., leggs purple ; 2^d, a lady habited gu., skirts B. ; 3^d, a souldier habited V^t, leggs B. ; 4th, another souldier habited A. & sable ; 5th, a souldier habited A., leggs V^t ; 6th, a souldier habited gu., sword by his side O."

The boy Cuthbert being hated on account of his miracles, there were some who wished to banish him from the land.

To whom he said that he would go if they would provide him with a mode of transit hitherto unknown. They accordingly hewed him a "corrok" or boat out of stone, and told him to go in that. Making the sign of the cross over it, he at once went out to sea in it, but returned for his mother and companions, and crossed over with them by night to Galloway, where the stone boat remained to that day (*Libell.* xix.). Here again (cp. Nos. 15, 16) we have an "improved" version of another story, that of St. Cuthbert's body floating in its stone coffin down the river Tweed. The male figures in the window are probably those of the nobleman and his boys, the former distinguished by his dirk, head-cloth, etc., as in No. 17. For the letters on the boy's tunic, cp. No. 21.

[20. COMMITTED TO CARE OF ST. COLUMBA?]

Torre, 43 (62). "In 2^d light stands another bp. habited B., mantle & skirts purple, myter & crosier O. Behind him stands a young prince, robed A., powdered with mulletts sab. Behind him stand 2 souldiers, one habited gu., leggs B., sword & belt O., & a woman standing behind habited Vt."

When Cuthbert and his mother arrived in Scotland, St. Columba was bishop in Dunkeld, and took charge of the boy. *Libell.* xxi. See No. 21.

21. BOYHOOD WITH ST. COLUMBA?

(Now 21.) A much mutilated panel, which cannot be made out in a satisfactory way. It is, however, an out-door scene, in which portions of grass and tree, and a beautiful bit of pink herbage may be discerned, apparently *in situ*. There is a very characteristic figure of the boy-Cuthbert in white tunic, powdered with ns or us, (see No. 19) remaining leg white, head uncovered, the nimbus now replaced by patch if there was one, and with dagger in sheath at girdle. He is stooping, and seems to be looking at something like an open book, with yellow covers and clasps, which he holds in his hands. Behind him is a nimbed and mitred bishop in albe, appparelled on the sleeve, and blue cope, holding a crosier in his left hand. Behind the bishop, remains of a figure as of a man in white, with hood up.

Background, red.

Insertion. A man's head in blue cap, and sundry patches.

Torre. Not identified.

When they reached Scotland, Cuthbert's mother put him under the care of St. Columba, at Dunkeld, to be educated with a little girl named Bridget. There were three English clerks who were on intimate terms with the bishop, and who soon became jealous of the attention he shewed to the children. Now Columba had a pet blackbird, which would allow itself to be stroked, fed by the hand, etc., and which was a great favourite, and these wicked clerks killed the bird and laid the blame on the children, in order to get them into disgrace with the bishop. But Cuthbert prayed that God would bring the bird to life again, whereupon it immediately began to hop about and play with its friends in its usual manner. *Libell.* xxi.

The panel may represent Cuthbert praying from a book ; and if the glass were in a less mutilated state, we might see both Bridget and the blackbird.

22. LAYKS AND PLAYS.

(Now 63.) A green field, in which are trees with white trunks and red tops, and very perfect figures of two boys standing on their heads or hands. One is nimbed, in white girded tunic diapered and edged with yellow, and white hose. The skirts of his tunic stand upright, as does the end of his girdle. The other boy is in blue tunic and white hose, and is not nimbed. The skirts of his tunic have fallen down, so as to exhibit the whole of his white hose, with their fastenings. Another boy in white, with a red cap, seems to be watching them ; also part of another, in red. Among fragments of drapery, etc., in the lower west corner may be discerned part of a figure in white, diapered with black sprigs, kneeling with his hands spread out as if entreating. A small head just above, with close yellow hair and earnest eyes, seems to belong to this body.

Background, blue.

Insertions. Two or three heads and other fragments.

Torre, 31 (80). "In 5th light is the representation of a monk & young prince hanging by the heels, wth their heads downwards, the monk habited B., leggs A., the prince robed A., powdered wth mulletts sab. On each side them stands an executioner, one habited gu., the other A., cap gu."

Gent. (63). Men crucify'd with their heads downwards.

Carlisle 2.

"**Her Cuthbert was forhid lapks
and plays. As I bede i hys story says.**"

In a grass field in which are sheep chewing the cud, a figure standing on his hands with his head down and feet in the air, much erased, but the general form, the arms, the hands, and the head, may be pretty well made out. Traces of another figure standing on hands, and of one like a woman, looking intently. The little boy rebuking Cuthbert is represented in yellow tunic and red skull-cap, with bare legs.

Oxf. MS. A boy is sitting on the ground, while two others appear to be persuading him to join in the sports. One boy is about to throw a quoit or discus, another is brandishing a hockey-stick, a third is turning a somersault, and a fourth holding up his left hand; seven figures in all.

Lawson MS. The picture has been wholly erased.

Cuthbert left St. Columba, and was placed by his mother with two Scottish bishops, Meldanus and Eatanus, her kinsmen, who put him under the guardianship of a religious man of Lothian, with other boys of his own age. Here Cuthbert was very fond of play, "et cum jocantibus ipse satis jocundus apparuit." When other boys stood on their heads, he did the same; but his clothes refused to fall down, remaining about his legs, from which first miracle in that land the place was called Childeschirche. *Libell.*, xxxiii.

The same story is told by Bede (cap. i.), and by the Lindisfarne monk (*Vit. Anon.*, i. 4), without the embellishment relating to the clothes, but adding that a little boy of three years old besought Cuthbert with tears to leave such vanities, addressing him as holy prelate and priest: "*Fye, Saint Cuthbert! what, a Presbyter and a Bishop, and playing among boyes?*" as if at that tyme he had seene him in his myter and his crosier staffe." (*Hegg's Legend of St. Cuthbert.*)

The artist has embodied both accounts in his representation, and from this scene, with which the narratives of Bede and of the Lindisfarne monk begin, we shall find that he mainly follows them, as does Capgrave, who also begins with the Irish Life.

The Carlisle series begins with this subject, but the picture is so much injured that it is not easy to compare it with the York glass. So far, however, as the figures of the boys can be discerned, they seem to be "*nudi*," as the Lindisfarne monk says they were.

It may be noted that in the window the kneeling child is represented in a dress similar to that which Cuthbert has in this and other panels, as if he too were what Torre calls "a young prince."

Both the MSS. begin with this subject, as the illustration to Bede, ch. i.

23. HOLY WELL AT DOILWEME.

(Now 49.) In a green field with trees, and a building like a church, with purple roofs, is a small stream of white water issuing from a yellowish rock, over which are bright yellow rays issuing from a blue cloud. A woman in white dress and kerchief kneels down and holds a yellow basin at the spring. Another woman in blue dress and white kerchief is conversing with a man in blue head-cloth and white hose, or bare legs; the rest of this figure is insertion.

Background, red.

Insertion. In the figure of a man just mentioned, a yellow jerkin and broad ornamented belt, below which short-spreading skirts of stripes of yellow, and white with blue, yellow, and black cross-bars done in enamel.

Torre, 24 (83). "In 3^d light stands a white castle, over w^{ch} hangs a cloud, out of w^{ch} stream sev^{all} rayes of golden light upon a woman habited A., stooping to take up a golden platter. At the other end of the castle stands a woman & a man talking together, wth their hands a little elevated; she being habited B., & he A., breeches O."

Carlisle 12.

"Fresh water god sent owt of p^r ston
to hym in farne & befor was non."

In the front part of a hilly ground covered with grass, red flowers, and trees, is a yellow rock, from which is issuing a stream of white water. St. Cuthbert, in a black monastic habit, with hood down, shewing his tonsure and red nimbus, stands leaning on a staff or spade, and pointing down to the ground with his finger. There are remains of a figure in red tunic and black belt with yellow studs, and indications of something attached to the belt.

Oxf. MS. One monk is working with a pick at a rock from which water flows, while another holds a spade.¹³

Lawson MS. A monk and a layman are digging with spades in the middle of a circular building: water just bubbling up, and the monk pointing to it.

Because the place where he abode in Scotland (Doilweme) was devoid of water, being a rocky mountain, the blessed boy brought water from the rock by his holy prayers, and in such abundance that they are obliged to keep a great stone over the mouth of the well, lest it should inundate the whole of Scotland. (*Libell.*, xxiv.) Being in want of water in Farne, he summoned the brethren, and they dug a little well in the middle of his dwelling, which at once produced sweet water out of the rock. (*Bede*, xviii., *Vit. Anon.* iii., 25.) It will be seen that the York artist has followed the *Libellus*, while at Carlisle, Bede's more historical version of the story has been adopted, as also in the MSS. There are now two shallow wells in Farne, the water of which is brackish.

24. ANGEL ON WHITE HORSE.

(Now 77.) A figure, much patched, but retaining purple cloak, and parts of yellow wings behind, riding on a white horse. A figure of a man in blue, nimbed but not tonsured, with gold girdle, kneels before the figure on horseback. Two other men, one in red robe and green cap, the other in red tunic and green hose, bare-headed, with close yellow hair, not nimbed. Some indication of a city gateway and (now in another part of the panel) a yellow portcullis.

Background, blue.

Insertions. The head and upper part of the figure on horseback; curly thick hair round the bald or tonsured head.

Torre, 32 (71). "3^d Row. In 3^d lower row and in the first light an angell rides on a white horse, habited purple, winged O., before whom sits S^t Cuthbert, habited B., glory O. On either side him stands a monk, both habited gu., cap of the 1st Vt."

Carlisle 3.

"Wer the Angel did hym (cure?)
And made hys sore to hele & — ?"

¹³ In the same drawing, one monk is represented washing the feet of another, in a circular building with a circular hole in the middle of the roof.

An angel with wings extended sits on a white horse with red bridle, red saddle, and black crupper. He is arrayed in a white robe with red collar and red apparel on sleeve. St. Cuthbert is sitting in a yellow seat like a large square easy chair placed on the grass, on which the angel rides. His face is quite boyish, and he is holding out his hands and looking to the angel, shewing his knee with blood running from a wound in it, the foot of the same leg hanging down in a helpless way.

Oxf. MS. A boy is sitting and shewing his knee to an angel, who is standing and gesticulating; his white horse stands behind him, with saddle, stirrups, etc.

Lawson MS. All erased save the gilt border, and the hind quarters of the white horse, which project into the margin.

25. ANGEL CURING KNEE.

(Now 73.) A figure in blue is sitting in a white chair with gabled and crocketed back, and holding out one leg, bared up to but not above the knee, before an angel in blue and white raiment, nimbed, with large yellow wings, holding in both hands, as if about to put it on, a square yellowish patch with indications of woven texture, like a poultice or plaister. Two men are conversing, one in white, with green cap and long beard, the other in a tunic green on one side and red on the other, girded by a richly ornamented belt with its pendent end ornamented also, blue hose, and purple cap. In the distance a church.

Background, red.

Insertion, a crowned and nimbed head and shoulders, in the seated figure.

Torre, 34 (70). "In 3^d light stands an angell robed B & A., winged O., lying a playster on the sore legg of a saint y^t sitts in a chair before him, habited B. Behind the chair stands an old man habited A., cap V^t., and also a young man habited gu., leggs B., cap purple, wth a golden girdle about his loynes."

Gent. (73.) Angel curing a young monarch's leg.

When Cuthbert was a boy he suffered from a swollen knee so that he could not walk or put his foot to the ground. One day, as he was sitting in the sun in the open air, having been carried out by his attendants, he saw some one in white garments riding towards him on a horse of incomparable beauty. The stranger on his approach asked the lame boy if he would do a service for such a guest, to which Cuthbert

replied that he would gladly stand up to serve him if he could, but that he was, for his sins, bound a prisoner by his swollen knee. The visitor then leaping from his horse examined the knee, and told him to boil some wheat flour in milk, and anoint the knee with it while warm; immediately after this he mounted his horse and departed. Cuthbert, following his directions, was healed in a few days, and believed that God had sent His angel as He did to Tobias. And, adds Bede, lest it should seem incredible to any one that an angel should ride on horseback, let him read the history of the Maccabees; 2 Mac. iii. 25; v. 2; x. 29. *Bede*, ii.; *Vit. Anon.* i. 7.

These two panels are both explained by this account, and it will be observed how the Carlisle artist has made one compartment serve for both subjects. The two men (in both panels) are doubtless Cuthbert's attendants, who have carried him out through the gateway in his chair, into the sunshine. Their rich robes are in keeping with Cuthbert's noble birth; the tunic with its two sides of different colours is specially to be noted.

For tunics, and richly ornamented girdles, see S. W. W. 265.

26. VISION OF DEATH OF ST. AIDAN.

(Now 65.) In a bed with blue coverlet and tester and hangings of figured green and yellow, with rings, on a bar, lies a bishop, naked but mitred, with one arm lying outside, listening attentively to a tonsured ecclesiastic in surplice and gold stole, reading out of a book which is held open by a youth in a surplice (compare No. 12.) At the foot of the bed stands a man in a blue garment over one of white figured yellow, visible at the neck and sleeves. On his head a blue cap (perhaps inserted). Above the bed are two angels receiving in a white sheet a small tonsured and nude figure, representing the soul of the dying bishop.

Background, red.

Torre, 45 (64). "In 4th light lyes, on a blew couch, a bp. mytred A., over whom appears in a cloud Our Lord robed A., and an angell on each side him habited A., winged O. At the bp.'s foot kneels a monk, habited A., praying in a book held open by a youth y^t stands before him habited A."

Carlisle 4.

"Her saw he aydans sabl bp go
to hebyn blys wth angels two."

A green field with trees and white flowers in it ; in the distance, sea and sky with red stars. A boy in white tunic, red hose, and black belt, is taking by the hand a man who looks as if lying asleep on the grass. Another figure in a red robe is gazing up to heaven with tearful eyes. The mid-heaven is occupied by two angels much defaced, but with red wings and yellow nimbi, holding a red aureole in which is a figure seated in a red robe, with rays diverging.

In Lady Harcourt's drawing there is a sheep.

Oxf. MS. On one side are two figures lying asleep and one sitting up awake as if listening to one standing on the other side and speaking. In the middle, below, four horned sheep, two white and two green ; above, two angels bearing up the naked figure on a sheet. No aureole, but just above the "soul," a small segment of a circle tinted red, as if to indicate the heavens opened.

Lawson MS. No picture.

On a certain night as he was praying in the fields by the river Leder, his companion shepherds being asleep, he saw a sudden light from heaven, and choirs of angels taking a bright soul up to the heavenly country. Waking up his companions (see *Carlisle*) he told them what he had seen, and a few days after (*Vit. Anon.*), when morning came (*Bede*), it was found that Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, had departed to the Lord at the very time of Cuthbert's vision. He then, leaving his flocks, resolved to enter a monastery. (*Bede*, iv. ; *Vit. Anon.* i. 8.)

The lower part of the panel seems meant to represent the scene of Aidan's death-bed, the upper part, Cuthbert's vision. It might possibly be supposed to represent Cuthbert's own departure, but the vision of Aidan's soul was a very favourite subject. For a similar vision, see No. 72. The representation of the departing soul as a small nude figure borne by angels or by Abraham on a white sheet, is very often seen in monuments, *e.g.*, the Percy Shrine at Beverley ; for brasses see Haines's Manual, p. cvi. Cp. No. 81.

27. BRINGING BACK SHIPS.

(Now 85.) In white water with waves is a yellow ship with very high prow, mast with "crow's nest," sails, and rope-ladders. The arrangement of sails is obscure, owing to mutilation. Some are attached by rings to a yellow bar. The top end of a main-yard is seen, with cordage attached, and mainsail furled. A white anchor is hanging out at the stern, and near the anchor is a hawse-hole with yellow cable issuing. About the middle of the ship is a port

hole, and in the prow are Gothic details. On board are two men, one in blue, with red cap, holding on to the mast, the other in red, bare-headed. On the green shore kneels a boy in long red robe, with yellow hair, nimbed. Behind him a man in blue, and a building like a church, but patched.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

Oxf. MS. A ship with one man trying to regulate a flowing sail, and another rowing with a large oar. By the water side, a boy in tunic, prostrate, and behind him, two men gesticulating as if in mockery.

Lawson MS. (On two pages). A boy, nimbed, is kneeling on the grass by a blue river with red sand, and shells on its shore. Over his head, a hand with two fingers extended, issuing from red, green, and purple clouds. The river flows smoothly on and across to the opposite page, where it widens out at its mouth into a very tempestuous sea, in which are three ships with men in them, one rowing, but most apparently praying. By the river's mouth, Tynemouth priory, and two monks going towards its Norman doorway. The figure of St. Cuthbert is the only one in this series in which he is nimbed, and is strikingly like representations of Christ in the Agony in the Garden.

Once when five rafts (*rates*) with timber for the use of the monastery were drifting out to sea, the monks of Tynemouth launched little ships (*naviculæ*) to help the men on the rafts. But the force of the current and the violence of the wind were so great that their efforts were of no avail. While monks knelt and prayed on the nearest point of land, the rafts drifted out to sea till they looked like five little birds, and the common people stood by in great numbers, jeering at the life and conversation of the monks, who, they said, deserved to suffer such a calamity for having taken away their old worship. Cuthbert checked their reproaches, and knelt down in prayer to the Lord, whereupon the wind changed and they all came back safe to land. *Bede*, iii. (Not in *Vit. Anon.*, but Bede says he had the account from a monk who had heard it, in the presence of many others, from a monk of Tynemouth.)

This should properly have come before No. 26. The one ship, which occupies a great part of the panel, appears to do duty symbolically for all the rest, and the rafts.

The Bollandists, Mabillon, and Smith, place the scene at Tynningham in Lothian, just north of Dunbar, but the stream there is now at least scarcely navigable.

28. STARTING FOR MAILROS?

(Now 41.) This panel is very much mutilated and of doubtful appropriation, so much so that it is extremely difficult to see what belongs to it and what does not, or to describe its various parts in any connection. We have a blue monk with nimbed but inserted head, walking by a white horse, head and neck alone visible, and close by, as if leading the horse, a man in white and figured yellow tunic with red hose, and a piece of yellow hurdle as in No. 12. Approaching from the other side are two blue monks, one with a crosier, both their heads inserted. In the background, a building like a church. There is room for there to have been a figure on the horse's back, but all that part is now patchwork.

Background, red.

Torre, 66 (45). "In 5th light is a church, & 2 monks habited B. standing before it, the foremost being S^t Cuthbert giving something to a young man that stands by him uncovered, habited gu. leggs B. Behind the last appears the head & shoulders of a lady mantled erm, hooded B. Also a prince robed A. is mounted on a white horse." (Doubtful appropriation).

Having made up his mind to become a monk, Cuthbert was moved by the reputation of Boisil ("St. Boswell") to seek admission into the Abbey of Mailros. (*Bede*, cap. vi. *Vit. Anon.* ii. 11.) This was in Tweeddale, about a mile and a half or two miles from the later and better known foundation of Melrose. It is possible that some parts of No. 28 may have represented his starting on this journey, especially the man leading a white horse, on which the boy Cuthbert (see *Torre*) may have been mounted. The figure called by *Torre* "S^t. Cuthbert" may be Boisil, on a journey with another monk, and having persuaded Cuthbert to join them. The panel may, however, have been made up of two quite distinct subjects.

29. HORSE PULLING DOWN BREAD.

(Now 59.) A white horse saddled and stirrured is tearing at the thatch of a roof supported on four poles, so as to expose the rafters. As if falling from this hole in the roof is a white cloth in which are two polygonal loaves, white

with yellow tops, but no meat shewn. Approaching from the side of the panel is the head of another white horse, led by a man in red head-cloth, green sleeves, and purple coat, holding a yellow whip. Kneeling on the ground is a nimbed figure of St. Cuthbert in red, with white pouch at his side, holding up his hand and looking round at the horses, etc. On the ground is a fine clump of green leaves with pink flowers.

Background, blue.

Insertion? A covered cup like a ciborium, in front of the kneeling figure.

Torre, 39 (68). "In 3^d light stands a white horse saddled under a pavilion; before him sits St Cuthbert habited gu., glory O., wth a pilgrim's scrip A. by his side."

Carlisle 5.

*"Her to hym and hys palfray
god fand them fude in hys Hornay."*

In a green field, a white horse shaded yellow, with red-edged saddle, grey girths, etc., pulling down from a thatched roof supported on four posts a white sheet shaded blue and fringed at the bottom. As if falling from the middle of the sheet, are a yellow loaf and a red and white piece of meat. In one corner kneels St. Cuthbert in a bluish habit, and nimbed. In the distance are shewn the sea and sky, with red stars.

Oxf. MS. A young man is standing in tunic and cloak holding up his hands towards heaven, indicated by a small segment of a circle within which are red stars, and looking towards his white horse, with saddle and girths, pulling down a sheet in which is a white circular cake, from the roof of a domical building supported on slender pillars with Norman bases and caps, without any indication of thatch.

Lawson MS. A boy in lay attire is kneeling and looking round to his white horse, with saddle and girths, pulling down a white sheet with bread and meat, from the red thatch of a shed supported on four poles.

Bede tells at considerable length how when St. Cuthbert was journeying (apparently to Mailros) he had long fasted, notwithstanding the entreaties of a devout matron at whose house he called, that he would refresh himself. For it was Friday, and he cared more that his horse should be fed than that he himself should. As he was travelling the same night he took shelter in a shepherd's hut or shealing, giving his horse a bundle of hay to eat, which the wind had blown from the roof, and occupying himself in prayer. While so engaged he saw the horse pulling at the thatch, so that

there fell down along with it a folded napkin. When he had finished his prayers, he examined the napkin, and found in it half of a loaf and a piece of meat still warm, enough for a single meal for himself. But, hungry as he was, he gave one half of the bread to the horse, and from that time became all the more given to fasting, since God, who had fed Elias by ravens, had prepared for him also a table in the wilderness. Bede heard this from an aged priest of Wearmouth who had heard it from Cuthbert himself. (*Bede*, v.)

The Lindisfarne monk says that this happened as he was travelling from the south and had arrived at a ford on the river Wear, at "Leunckcester," said by the Bollandists to be Lumley castle, which is probably a mere surmise. Lancaster is about seven miles from the Wear. (*Vit. Anon.* i. 9.)

The York artist seems to have supposed that St. Cuthbert had an attendant with him at the time, and he puts in two loaves and no meat, instead of half a loaf (which adds to the self-denial of Cuthbert in dividing it with his horse) and a piece of meat.

[30. DIVIDING THE HALF LOAF WITH THE HORSE ?

May have been a companion panel to No. 29.]

[31. GIVING UP HORSE AND SPEAR.

Bede says that when he arrived at Mailros he leaped from his horse, and gave it and his spear to an attendant (for he had not yet laid by his secular dress) in order to enter the church to pray, and then it was that Boisil caught sight of him, and said : "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." Cap. vi.

This may have served to introduce the subject of No. 32 ; it is illustrated in the MSS. See No. 32.]

32. RECEPTION AT OLD MELROSE.

(Now 43.) In a field with green and yellow globose trees, and a very pretty yellow plant with red flowers, is an embattled building, out of the open door of which is coming a bishop or abbot in blue monastic habit and red tippet, mitred, with crosier in left hand. On the ground before him kneels



Reception of St. Cuthbert at Mailros or Old Melrose.

From the Lawson MS.

p. 202.

on one knee a boy, bare-headed, with close yellow hair, not nimbed, with red tunic, green hose, and white pouch at his side; his hands joined, and his eyes and ears much emphasized, as if he were paying the utmost reverence and attention. Between and behind them stands a middle-aged man in purple and green cap, with ornamented girdle, holding up his right hand.

Background, blue.

Torre, 35 (74). "In 4th light stands St Cuthbert in his episcopal robes B., hood gu., myter A., crosser O., a reverent old man in purple stands before him, and a young pilgrim kneels habited gu. leggs V^t., his scripp hanging by his side A."

Carlisle 6.

"~~Her~~ unto ~~Mell~~rosse for to conberse
 Eata! (holp?) boisle and (lawe reherse?)"

In a field by a hill on which are two trees, beyond which are sea and sky with red stars, is a church with aisles and clerestory, lead roof a little spire with cross, a cross on a gable, and a large semicircular headed doorway, occupying almost all the quasi-east end. At this doorway stands a man in black habit with hood up, as if receiving the boy Cuthbert, who is represented with the same face as in Carlisle No. 3 (see No. 24), and red dress. Near him is a boy attendant with a yellow horse, on which is a red saddle-cloth.

(Lady Harcourt's drawing shews another figure at the church-door, probably meant for Sigfrid.)

Oxf. MS. A youth in lay attire, holding in his right hand spear and arrows, is alighting from his horse while his attendant holds the stirrup. At the door of a somewhat complex building stand three monks, one speaking to the other two.

Lawson MS. See woodcut.

Sigfrid, a devout priest, used to speak of this as an eye-witness, for he was a youth in the same monastery, and standing by, when Boisil made the above remark (see No. 31). When Bede wrote, Sigfrid was still living at a great age at Jarrow. (Cap. vi.) The Lindisfarne monk does not mention these incidents, of which perhaps he had not heard. (See *Vit. Anon.* ii. 11.) The York artist seems to have thought that Boisil was Abbot of Melrose. At Carlisle he is more accurately represented as an ordinary monk. Possibly, however, the York panel represents his reception by the Abbot Eata a few days after, when Boisil obtained permission for Cuthbert to receive the tonsure.

33. AN ANGEL PROVIDES BREAD AT RIPON.

(Now 76.) Seated on a green chair at a long table with white cloth, furnished with two gold cups and a brown-hafted table-knife, is an angel with blue robe and yellow wings, nimbed. A blue monk, nimbed, is taking two polygonal loaves out of a domical oven. There are indications of the interior of a Gothic building, with hangings of alternate breadths of green and purplish pink figured damask, attached by rings to a long bar.

Background, red.

Torre, 33 (72). "In 2^d light stands St Cuthbert in his pilgrim habit between 2 pillars of a church, and, behind a table furnished wth 3 golden dishes, sits an angell robed V^t. winged & crined O., glory A. & O."

Carlisle 7.

"The angel he did as gest refreshe
 We! mete and drynk & hys fete washe."

Near to an L-shaped table with white cloth, edged with red pattern, sits an angel, much defaced, before whom kneels St. Cuthbert in black, with hood up, and a long towel round him like a scarf, holding the leg of the angel over a large yellow vessel in the form of a chalice. Another man in black appears to be walking away with hands raised. The top of the table is too much defaced to shew whether there was anything on it.

Oxf. MS. On one side of the picture a young monk is sitting with an angel; on the other, the angel is standing at a table with white cloth, holding a knife in one hand and in the other a circular cake marked with a cross. On the table are two bowls, and another "cross bun." The monk is just going out at a doorway as if to fetch something. (See woodcut, p. 297.)

Lawson MS. (Two pictures). 1. An angel, nimbed, and with rainbow wings, sitting by a table with white cloth, on which are a knife, a cup, and a piece of cake. The angel has one foot in a red bowl with short stem and foot, while a monk with a towel over his shoulder is drying the other. 2. A monk is standing and holding up both hands as if in amazement at three round white cakes on a table with white cloth.

Some years after Cuthbert's entering Melrose, King Alchfrith founded a branch establishment at Ripon, and Cuthbert was appointed to be guest-master. Early one winter's morning he found a young man sitting in the guest-chamber, and welcomed him in the usual manner by giving him water for his hands, and himself washing his feet, placing them in his bosom, and humbly chafing them



. Cuthbert entertaining an Angel at Ripon.
From the Oxford MS.

p. 296.



St. Cuthbert remonstrating with the birds in Farne, and their submission.

From the Oxford MS.

pp. 323, 324.

with his hands, entreating him to abide with them. After Terce he offered him food, asking him to wait till he went to fetch some hot bread from the oven. But when he returned, he found that the guest had departed, and there were no footprints on the newly-fallen snow. Greatly wondering, he removed the table to his cubicle, on entering which, he found it filled with marvellous fragrance, proceeding from three hot loaves of unwonted whiteness and beauty. Then Cuthbert perceived that it was an angel of God, who had come, not to be fed, but to feed, and had brought such loaves as earth could not produce, for they surpassed lilies in whiteness, roses in smell, and honey in flavour, and had evidently come from Paradise. (*Bede*, vii. ; *Vit. Anon.* ii. 12.)

34. BOISIL'S PROPHECY.

(Now 72.) In a bed with red hangings all round, gathered in one corner into the form of a bag, and suspended by rings on a pole, selour fringed blue and green, lies a tonsured man propped up by pillows, naked, holding up both his hands, and addressing three blue monks, the centre one nimbed, with his hands crossed on his breast. The one nearest to the head of the bed is holding up both his hands and listening attentively. The floor of the room is laid with triangular black and white pavers.

Background, blue.

Torre, 22 (81). "In the highest row and in the first light lyes an old king in a sick bed A. & O., and 3 monks stand before him habited B., one whereof being S^t Cuthbert wth his hands spread upon his breast."

Gent. 71, 72. Visitation of the sick.

Carlisle 8.

"Her bosile teld hym þæt he must be
And after þæt he (bischo)p suld be."

A large building, with green roofs, and with turrets and spirelets, is represented as thrown open by a space the whole width of it, trifoliated at the top. The walls within are rudely painted with a pattern consisting of yellow and red lines and patches disposed lozenge-wise, the floor is paved red and black. In a yellow boarden bed, with red quilt, sits an old man in black monastic habit with hood up ; in a yellow chair, a young man in the same habit. The two are looking earnestly at one another.

Oxf. MS. One monk is reclining on a couch while another sits by him with a book open on his knee.

Lawson, MS. One monk is sitting up in a boarden bed with blue coverlet, talking to a young monk who sits at the foot of the bed.

When Boisil felt his end approaching, he asked Cuthbert to read St. John's Gospel to him in seven portions, one each day, that they might confer together upon it. During these seven days, Boisil, who had the gift of prophecy, revealed to Cuthbert all that would happen to him, and, among other things, that he would be made a bishop. Also, that the pestilence which was then raging would last for three years before it came to the Abbot Eata, his son,¹⁴ who however would not die of it, but of dysentery, all which came to pass as he had said. *Bede*, viii. The Lindisfarne monk does not mention this. Simeon of Durham says, that the book out of which Boisil instructed Cuthbert was preserved in the Church of Durham in his day (cir. 1229), and that Cuthbert succeeded as Provost. *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* iii. The famous book of the Gospels which was lost at sea, known as the "Lindisfarne Gospels," and anciently as the "Liber Beati Cuthberti," (see No. 16) was a different one, written expressly for Cuthbert. (*Smith's Bede*, p. 227, n.) There are two books of the Gospel now in Durham Cathedral library, considered to be of, at least, coeval date; "A. ii. 16," and "A. ii. 17." The former contains all four Gospels, the latter St. John, St. Luke, and St. Mark. "A. ii. 22, contains, at its beginning and end, portions of a still older copy of the Gospels." *Raine's St. Cuthbert*, p. 35, n.

This subject of Boisil's instructing Cuthbert was a very favourite one, and is mentioned in the short Northumbrian poem *De situ Dunelmi* (see above, p. 265). Among the relics at Durham there descanted on was the body of

¹⁴ The Bollandists, and also Smith, adopt a reading which omits the mention of Eata's being Boisil's "son." It is not likely that he was Boisil's son in the ordinary sense of the word, and probably nothing more is meant than that he was one of the community or 'familia' over which Boisil presided as "abbot." Even so late as the eleventh century marriage of the secular clergy in the north of England was, as at present, the rule and not

the exception. See Raine's *Hexham*, vol. i., pref. pp. li.—lvi. (*Surtees Soc.*, vol. xlv.) The chapter-house of Durham Cathedral was built on the site of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery full of bones of women and children as well as of men, probably those of the married clergy who with their wives and families were ejected when the Norman Bp. Carileph introduced the Benedictine monks.

Boisil abbot,
 8 clæne Cúðberchte on gicheðe
 larde lustum, ⁊ he his lara wel genom.

"Boisil abbot,
 "That clean Cuthbert in youth
 "Lustily learned, and he his lore well received."

For beds and their furniture see S. W. W. 225, 312.

[35. PROVOST OF MELROSE ?

It has already been mentioned that according to Simeon, Cuthbert succeeded Boisil as Provost of Melrose (see No. 34). Bede gives a very full account of how he occupied himself in missionary work, hearing confessions, rooting out heathen superstitions, into which the early converts were apt to relapse, etc., as Boisil had been wont to do ; cap. vi., and see *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iii. cap. xxx. There may have been a panel representing some of these occupations, or perhaps No. 45 or No. 46 may have come in here.]

Canopies, 31—35. Low tabernacle-work, each with three angels in white and yellow, *junctis manibus*, on the top.

36. PREACHING.

(Now 54.) In a stone pulpit stands a blue monk, nimbed, preaching to a mixed congregation of men and women. A blue monk by the pulpit seems to be enforcing the arguments of the preacher on a man in red, with green cap. Other figures are : a man in white powdered gold, yellow conical cap, and beard ; the head of a woman in white kerchief ; a boy (?) ; a woman in green gown and blue kerchief ; a man in white, sitting ; a man in blue tunic and white hose, patched with yellow. The flashed ruby glass in this panel much corroded, shewing white patches.

Background, red.

Torre. Not identified.

Gent 54. Preaching.

Carlisle 9.

"Der to hys bredren & peppl eke
 he prechyd godys word myld and meke."

Background of red with yellow hangings. But in a flowery meadow stands St. Cuthbert in black habit, hood up, and crutch-staff in his right hand, planted on the ground, as he addresses a crowd of people, some in lay costume and others in monastic habits. Faces, as in all the series, very well painted.

Oxf. MS. A monk leaning on a prior's staff is addressing a crowd of laymen in tunics. A little dog sitting up is trying to attract the attention of one of them; this figure and the dog added by a later hand.

Lawson MS. Much the same, but the laymen in long robes.

While Cuthbert was at Melrose, it was the custom that when a clerk or priest came to a village, all at his command flocked to hear him preach, and Cuthbert used to go about preaching, as Boisil had done before him, even to remote villages in wild mountains fearful to behold. And by reason of his remarkable powers of persuasion he was very successful in calling back the country folk to heavenly concerns. *Bede*, ix. (see No. 35).

There is nothing in the York glass to shew whether the preaching be in the open air or not; but from the absence of any building, it would seem to be so. The pulpit looks like a stone one. It is remarkable that the striking figure of the nimbed monk in the pulpit cannot be identified among Torre's descriptions. The Carlisle artists, and those of the MSS., have probably come near to the reality in representing the preacher as simply leaning on the top of his staff (see No. 44, at the end). He may, however, have intended to represent Cuthbert's instructions at Lindisfarne; see No. 48.

37. RECEIVING FISH FROM BOY.

(Now 51.) By a green field, with a castle and a church in the distance, both with light red roofs, runs a white river with a red tree, stem yellow, on its bank. By the water-side stands a boy with closely-cut yellow hair, not nimbed, in diapered white tunic and yellow hose. The sleeves of his tunic are turned up to the elbow, and shew the embroidered closely-fitting sleeves of an under-garment. This boy is stooping somewhat, and holding in both hands a long white fish like a pike, at which he is looking intently. Behind the boy is a blue monk, nimbed, with crutch-staff in his left hand, and holding up his right, expanded as if in admiration, and behind him another blue monk, not nimbed. In

the air, and as if hovering over the fish, is a huge yellow bird. On the other side of the river, rocks and plants.

Background, blue.

Torre, 50 (59). "In 4th light stand 3 monks habited B., the foremost being St Cuthbert, wth a golden dove hovering over his head. Before him stands a young prince, robed A., powdered wth mulletts sab., taking up a fish out of the river w^{ch} runs by a certain castle."

See No. 38.

38. ABOUT TO DIVIDE FISH WITH BIRD.

(Now 42.) By a green field with red flowers, in the distance a cruciform building with central tower and white roofs, with gable-cross, runs a white river, over which bends a blue monk with inserted head, in his left hand a crutch-staff, and in his right the long scaly fish as in No. 37. As if approaching him is the same boy in white tunic and red hose, behind him a blue monk, and in the air the yellow bird.

Background, red.

Torre, 53 (52). "In 2^d light stand 3 monks habited B., the foremost being St Cuthbert, glory O., a golden dove hovering over his head, he leaning upon his pilgrim staff and talking to a prince y^t stands by him, robed A., powdered wth mulletts sab."

Carlisle 10.

"He was gyded by p^r egle free
and fed wth p^r delfyne as p^r see."

Background a red, yellow, and green pattern under two arches, with an indication of roof over them. But on the green bank of a river stands St. Cuthbert in black habit, tonsured with hood up, holding his crutch-stick in his left and pointing with his right towards the river bank, where kneels on the ground a boy in a sort of white smock, turning round and smiling at St. Cuthbert. In his left hand he holds half of a fish by the tail, and in the right is a yellow-hafted knife, with which he appears to have just cut the fish in two. In the air is the eagle with the head half of the fish in its mouth, just flying off. Only its head and neck are left, the plumage yellow. On the grass, in front of the boy, something red, apparently the blood and entrails of the fish. The fish is bluish grey, and red like salmon where cut.

Oxf. MS. A monk with crutch-staff is speaking to a boy with knobbed stick. In another part of the picture the boy is taking by the tail a fish on which a white eagle is perched. There is also a flying eagle above.

Lawson MS. A monk with crutch-staff is speaking to a very pretty little boy with golden hair and red tunic, kneeling on the ground, and holding a headless fish nearly as large as himself by the tail with his left hand, while with his right he holds a large gold-bladed knife. At a little distance a yellow eagle is standing on the head of the fish, and devouring it.

As St. Cuthbert was on one of his preaching journeys among the mountains, accompanied only by a boy, in a lonely place by the river Tesgeta, he asked his companion, trying him, where he thought they could find refreshment. The boy did not know, but he was very hungry, and did not relish the prospect of travelling much further without food. Cuthbert, however, told him to trust in the Lord, and to run and look where an eagle was sitting by the bank. Doing as he was bid, the boy found a large fish, which the bird had just caught, and brought it back to the man of God, who rebuked him for not at once sharing it with the eagle. "Cur piscatori nostro jejunanti partem ad vescendum non dedisti?" Then the boy gave half to the eagle, and the rest served as a feast for themselves and for the people in whose house they were sheltered when they came to a village. *Bede*, xii. ; *Vit. Anon.* ii. 15, 16.

The crutch-staff which Cuthbert holds in these and other representations is like a cross-handled walking-stick, and is perhaps a "prior's staff," indicating his rank as prior or provost ; "*præpositus*" (see No. 34). It will be observed that the boy's dress is very similar to that in which the boy Cuthbert generally appears. Monsignor Eyre, in his "History of St. Cuthbert," p. 20, says, as if quoting Bede and the Lindisfarne monk : "a boy whom he took with him to serve his mass, and assist while he administered the sacraments." But, though it is quite possible that the boy was employed in some such way, they neither of them say anything of the kind. The story of the eagle and fish has a great air of truth about it, and the fishing eagle, or osprey (*Pandion haliaëtus*) is still found in Scotland. The Carlisle artist, in his couplet, has mixed up with this another story of Cuthbert and his companions being fed by some slices of dolphin's flesh which they found (*Bede* xi. ; *Vit. Anon.* ii. 16). This is illustrated in both the MSS.

39. PRAYING IN THE SEA.

A white stream of water, with the head (tonsured and nimbed), the neck, and the hands of a man visible above the surface. Sitting on a yellow stone on the green bank, on which are trees, one white, another red, with yellow trunk, is a man in blue monastic habit, nimbed. On the grass is a large patch of blue, which may be, or have been, for the habit of the man in the water, but it is now patched and doubtful. In the distance are two buildings.

Background, blue.

Torre, 41 (70). "In 5th light St Cuthbert walks in a river, his neck and head only appearing, glory O. & A. Over ag^t him sitts another image of St Cuthbert again, in a golden chair, habit B. glory A. & O."

Curlewe 10.

"*Her stude he nakyd in y^e see
to all dabit psalter sayd had he.*"

On one side Cuthbert's head with red nimbus, appearing above the waves of the sea. On the other, two figures in black habits with hoods up, sitting apart on flowery grass, the further one eagerly watching Cuthbert, the nearer one nimbed, with red rays. The sea extends to the horizon, where it meets the sky, with red stars.

Oxf. MS. In a sort of bank of water stands a naked man, with about half his body above the surface. By the water side a monk clothed, holding out his right hand with two fingers extended towards two otters or seals, which have their noses at his bare feet. In the distance, a man stretching himself out at the windows of a building.

Lawson MS. A naked man standing with a heap of blue water all round him, shewing the outline of his body through, and his head and hands clear above the top, in the way the Baptism of Christ is represented in some ancient pictures. On the grassy shore, a monk is sitting, while three animals half in the water and half out appear as above. In the distance, another monk lying on the grass and watching the man in the sea.

While at Melrose he went on a visit to Ebba, sister of King Oswiu and mother superior of the monastery of Coldingham, where there were at that time both monks and nuns. Here it was his habit to steal out at night when others were asleep to pray alone. One night, one of the brethren followed to watch him, and saw him go into the sea up to his neck and sing praises to God, accompanied by the sound of the waves. Now when morning dawned he came

out, and finished his prayers kneeling on the shore, and there came out of the water two seals, which warmed his feet with their breath, and dried them with their hair. The brother who had witnessed this, at Cuthbert's earnest request, told the vision to no man during his life, though he published it abroad after his death. *Bede*, x. ; *Vit. Anon.* ii. 13. In the *Libellus* we are told that he made for himself a bath of stone, in which he used to pass sleepless nights in cold water, praying with heaven-stretched hands ; cap. xxv. Praying in water is quite a common incident in the lives of saints and hermits. It is remarkable that both at York and at Carlisle there is a representation of some person with a nimbus sitting on the bank. It is clear from the MSS. that this is St. Cuthbert after he had come out of the water. Perhaps the two buildings are for the monks and for the nuns respectively, in the double monastery of Coldingham, on St. Abb's Head, a few miles north of Berwick. [See *Postscript*, p. 375.]

40. FALSELY ACCUSED BY A KING'S DAUGHTER.

(Now 24.) The figures in this panel will best be described in two groups. The one consists of three persons, viz., a tall young lady in a beautiful white dress, figured with a gold pattern, on her head a very large lace veil held up by wires, and round her body, which appears as though she were with child, a girdle buckled. On her right stands a middle-aged woman in green kerchief, but all, save her head, patchwork, and on her left an oldish man with white beard and moustache, and blue robe over a figured white under-garment, a brown patch where his cap should be. These three are all looking towards, as if remonstrating with, the foremost figure of the other group, viz., a youthful monk, nimbed, in blue monastic habit, holding a prior's staff in his left hand, and extending two fingers of his right towards the opposite side. Behind him is a blue monk talking to a tonsured man in red. Between the two groups is a yawning red gulf, with indication of flames.

Background, red.

Torre, 67 (31). "In the first row & first light stand 7 persons together, 1st being a nun habited purple, vayled V^t ; 2^d, a queen robed A., powdered O. ; 3^d, an old man habited B., cap A. ; 4th, a young monk habited

B. ; 5th, another young monk habited gu. At their feet lyes a woman prostrate, habited gu."

[Here are only six figures. Torre has evidently forgotten to put down St. Cuthbert. The "woman prostrate, habited gu," is the red gulf.]

This is one of the stories told in the *Libellus* to account for Cuthbert's dislike to women, which really originated in abuses at Coldingham, as appears from Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* lib. ii. cap. vii. It would seem, however, that the tale obtained general credence, and it is told with all gravity by the author of the "Rites of Durham," in whose inimitable words it may perhaps best be related here.

"Blessed Saint Cuthbert for a long tyme led a solitarie liffe in the borders of the Picts, to which place great concourse of people daly used to visitt him, and from whome, by the providence and grace of God, never any returned without great cumforth and consolation. This caused both yong and old to resort unto him, taking great pleasure both to se him and to heare him speake. In the mean time yt chanced that the daughter of the kinge of that province was gott with child by some yong man in her father's house, whose belly swelling with her birth, which when the king perceyved, dyligently examined her who was the author of that fact. Upon dewe examynation whereof she maid this answer: 'That solitarie young man, who dwelleth hereby, is he who hath overcum me, and with whose bewty I am thus desceived.' Whereupon the king, furiouslye enradged, presentlie repayred with his deflowered dawghter, accompaned with dyvers knyghtes unto the solitary place, where he presentlie spake unto the servant of God in this manner: 'What, art thoue he, who under the cullour of relligion, prophanest the temple and sanctuarie of God? Art thoue he, who, under the title and profession of a solytarie liffe, exerciseste all filthines of the world in incest? Behould, here is my dawghter, whom thoue with thy deceits hast corrupted, not fearing to make her dishonest, therefore now, at the last, openly confesse this thy falt, and plainly declare heare before this cummpany in what sorte thou seduced her.' The kinges dawghter, markinge the ferce speeches of her fater, more impodentlye stepped furth, and bouldly affirmed that it was he which had done that wicked deade. At which thing the young man, greatly

amased, perceiving that this forgery proceeded by the instigation of the devell, wherwith he being browght into great perplexitie, applying his whole hart unto Almighty God, said as followeth: 'My Lord, my God, who onely knowest and art the sercher of all secretts, make manifest also this work of iniquetie, and by some example approve the same, which, though yt cannott be done by humane polleceye, make it manifest by some dyvine oracle.' When as the younge man, with grevous lamentations and teares incredible to be reported, hadde spoken thes words, evin soddenlie, in the self same place wher she stood, the earth thier, making a hissing noyse, presentlie opened and swallowed her upe, in the presence of all the beholders. This place is cauled Corwen, where she for her corruption was conveyed and caried into hell. So sone as the king perceived this miraculous chaunce to happen, in the presence of all his cumpany, began to be greatlie tormented in his mynd, fearing, least throwghe his threates he should him selfe incur the like punyshment. Whereupon he, with all his cumpany, humbly craving pardon of Almighty God, with further desire and peticion to that good man Saint Cuthbert, that by his prayers he would crave at God's hands to have his dawghter again, to which peticion the said holie father graunted, upon condicion that no woman after that should have resorte unto him. Whereupon it came that the king did not suffer any woman to enter into any church dedecated to that saint, which to this daie is dewly observed in all the churches of the Picts which weare dedicated to the honour of that holie man." *Rites of Durham*, p. 30. *Libellus*, cap. xxvii., from which the author of "Rites" has translated almost literally. Dr. Raine gives it in the form of a ballad. *St. Cuthbert*, Appx., p. 11. Reginald has a wonderful story of the trouble that one Helisend, chambermaid of the Queen of Scotland, brought upon herself by intruding into the churchyard at Durham, cir. 1150, cap. lxxiv., p. 151. A blue cross in the floor of the nave now marks the extreme point eastward to which women might come in later mediæval times. The author of "Rites" seems to have translated the passage about their being excluded from churches of the Picts "to this daie" (*hactenus*), without thinking of what he was saying, for he wrote after the Dissolution.

The mode of treatment adopted in the window is very

striking and dramatic, the precise point selected apparently being when the young lady "more impodentlye stepped furth." I have placed this subject among those connected with Melrose, as most nearly corresponding with it in point of time. There is nothing at all like it in Bede or the Lindisfarne life, nor in Capgrave, who accounts for Cuthbert's dislike of women by the Coldingham scandals, and by a phantasy of a radiant woman that appeared and distracted his hearers when he was preaching. This story, in an earlier stage, will be found under No. 44. Symeon has a story of some Scotchmen who, presuming to invade the liberties of St. Cuthbert, were swallowed up quick, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* lib. ii. cap. xii. This is illustrated in Oxf. MS. Reginald says it was at Norham.

41. ST. CUTHBERT MET BY HILDMER.

(Now 47.) In a green field with a blue tree, a nobleman in rich white tunic, figured with gold flowers, a pouch at his girdle, and over all a purple cloak hooded blue, attended by a man in red tunic, with white turned-up cap, and another like a monk (head only visible) is with his right hand taking by the right hand St. Cuthbert, nimbed, with blue habit and prior's staff in left hand, bowing somewhat to the nobleman, who stands erect, attended by a blue monk.

Background, blue.

Insertion.—A piece of glass with a lion passant.

Torre, 51 (60). "In 5th light stand 2 monks habited B., the foremost being St Cuthbert, wth a pilgrim's staff in his hand O., and shaking an old man by the hand y^t stands by him, habited purple & A., behind whom stand 2 monks habited B., between them a lyon pass' A."

42. ABOUT TO SEND HOLY WATER BY A PRIEST (TO THE WIFE OF HILDMER ?)

(Now 31.) A group of some nine or ten figures, the central one being a blue monk, nimbed, with a long narrow yellow stole, very slightly widened and fringed at the ends, worn pendent over both shoulders. On his right is a blue monk who seems to be breaking something like a long loaf with him, and in his left hand holding sprinkler like a yellow club stuck with white feathers. Others are standing

about conversing, or looking on, and all may be enumerated thus, beginning at the east : Two heads, as of a boy and a man in close converse ; a bearded man, with purple cap, red tunic, green hose, yellow belt and pouch (Hildmer ?) ; monk, with sprinkler, and St. Cuthbert, as above ; youth, in white tunic, sprigged with brown, and purple cap, legs gone ; figure in long red robe and green tippet, furred white ; two heads displaced.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

[43. HILDMER'S WIFE RECOVERED ?

It is not unlikely that this would form the subject of one of the lost panels ; she would probably be represented taking the bridle of St. Cuthbert's horse.]

Oxf. MS. On one side of the picture a monk seated and giving something like a square box to a man who kneels to receive it. On the other side a monk and a layman on white horses, and a woman coming out at a door and holding the bridle of the monk's horse.

Lawson MS. A woman in white nightdress and leather shoes sitting up on a bed, by which stand a layman and a monk with crutch-staff, as if in conversation with her.

The wife of Hildmer, an officer of Ecgfrith, afterwards king, a lady much given to almsdeeds and other good works, was suddenly possessed by a devil, and grievously tormented. Her husband rode in haste to St. Cuthbert, and besought him to send a priest to visit her, that she might receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, also begging that she might be buried there in the holy places, but being ashamed to confess what her illness was. Cuthbert at first considered what priest to send, but suddenly determined to go himself. As they went, Hildmer wept at the thought of the holy man finding his wife in such a state. Cuthbert told him he knew it already, but knew also that before they arrived, the devil should be put to flight, and she should joyfully come out to meet them, and in perfect mind take the reins and welcome them as of old. All which came to pass. *Bede*, xv. The Lindisfarne monk makes St. Cuthbert to have been Prior of Lindisfarne at the time, but Bede im-

plies that he was still at Melrose. (See *Vit. Anon.* ii. 21.) Both speak of Hildmer and Cuthbert riding on horses.

I have found great difficulty in assigning these compartments, but as they seem to refer to some period previous to Cuthbert's being made a bishop, they fit the Hildmer story best. There being no horses is, however, somewhat against it, and it is perhaps scarcely likely that Cuthbert's being about to send a priest in the first instance would be made the subject of a picture. No. 42 is indeed a very curious and interesting panel, and seems to represent St. Cuthbert about to send a priest with holy water somewhere. There are two accounts of his doing this when bishop. See Bede, xxv., xxix., and Nos. 65, 69, 70. Torre's description No. 80 (24) must refer to one of them. No. 42 may have been another, and it corresponds very well with Bede, xxix., except that Cuthbert is not represented as a bishop but as a prior. The artist may have had the details of Bede, xxix. in his mind, and he would naturally connect the use of holy water with the casting out of devils.

44. PUTTING OUT PHANTOM FIRE.

(Now 14.) Over a house with red and yellow flames issuing from roof and windows hovers a green devil with red wings. One man is emptying a wooden vessel made of hoops and staves and in form like a bottle, as if about a yard long, into a yellow tub, nearly full of white water. Another man is standing half way up a ladder, receiving from a (mutilated) figure in blue a yellow basin, as if to carry it up to the flames. A blue monk, nimbed, stands by, holding a prior's staff in his left hand, and elevating his right. There is a small tree with red top. [See coloured illustration.]

Background, blue.

Torre, 54 (53)† "In 3^d light stands a ruinous white castle, and on one side is St Cuthbert habited B., glory & staff O.; on the other side a woman habited B. & A., wth a golden basin in her hands."

Oxf. MS. A house with flames issuing from the roof, and a man bringing out at the door a chest with four legs, a monk with crutch-staff and a number of lay folk crowding round him and gesticulating. One man seems to be pulling part of the house down.

Lawson MS. By a house with projecting chimney and Norman door-

way are three figures, a monk with crutch-staff, and two men in tunics, with large basins in their hands. Above the house are indications of flame.

Once as Cuthbert was preaching, the devil produced a phantom fire for the purpose of distracting the hearers. They rushed off to extinguish the flames of an apparently burning house, but no water had any effect on them, till, by the prayer of Cuthbert, the author of the deceits was put to flight, and, with the seeming fire, vanished into empty air. *Bede*, xiii. ; *Vit. Anon.* ii. 19.

There is a companion story to this both in Bede and in the anonymous life, of Cuthbert's preserving the house of his old nurse, Kenswith, from catching fire, by means of his prayers, which obtained a change of wind, and a diversion of the real flames that were blown from another house. The panel (No. 44) seems to suit the phantom-story the better of the two. The preaching subject (No. 36) may possibly have been a companion-panel to this, a supposition confirmed by the backgrounds being different. But it is quite as likely to have been independent, as at Carlisle.

This is illustrated in both MSS. In the Oxford MS. Kenswith is kneeling at Cuthbert's feet, and a man is hewing at the burning house with an axe. In the Lawson MS. it is represented much as the phantom fire is. It is noteworthy that in none of the four early pictures of houses on fire are any devils to be seen.

45. JOURNEY WITH THREE MONKS AND LAYMAN.

(Now 52.) Somewhat patched and confused, but four blue monks, one nimbed and holding prior's staff in right hand, are walking together. The two on the west side seem to be conversing, one with his hands crossed on his breast, the other with both hands elevated, while the nimbed figure is looking at them. There is also, as if approaching from the east, a man with rather long hair, in purple tunic, and green hose, with his thumb in his girdle. In the background are trees, one with green top and yellow stem, another with white top and yellow stem.

Background, red.

Torre, 49 (58). "In 3^d light stands S' Cuthbert in his monk's habit

(as before) & four other monks stand before him, all habited B., the foremost taking St Cuthbert by the hand, and behind him stands a woman habited purple, skirts V^t & A."

Torre has mistaken the purple man for a woman, and his green legs and the white ground seen between them, for green and white skirts. It is not now very apparent whether he has been taking one of the monks by the hand or not. There is some appearance of a fourth monk beside St. Cuthbert. The panel may possibly represent some journey while Cuthbert was prior of Melrose or of Lindisfarne, but like other journeys represented, it seems to be put in by way of filling up and to shew that he was "in journeyings often," rather than for any particular scene. See Nos. 46, 52.

46. JOURNEY WITH TWO MONKS.

(Now 55.) Three blue monks walking one behind another, the foremost nimbed and holding prior's staff in left hand, turning round to and addressing the other two, who appear to be listening attentively. The ground on which they walk is yellow.

Background, red.

Torre, 62 (41). "In the 4th row & first light stands St Cuthbert & 2 monks together, all habited B., wth pilgrim-staves O."

It is probably through inadvertency that Torre describes all as "wth pilgrim-staves." Or perhaps this description belongs to No. 53, q. v. See also on No. 45.

47. DELIVERING THE MONASTIC INSTITUTES.

(Now 74.) In a chair, with white pediment and pinnacles, and red back, sits a blue monk, not nimbed, with smooth youthful face, holding an open book in his hand. Before him are other blue monks and nuns with open books on their knees as they sit on a long settle. Two of the latter are veiled and nimbed, but the nimbi look rather as if cut down for insertion. The whole panel has suffered a good deal, and is indistinct. In the background is a church with rose window, and part of a green tree.

Background, blue.

Torre, 63 (42). "In 2^d light sitt 3 monks & 2 nuns in a church, all habited B., one of w^{ch} being S^t Cuthbert, glory A. having a book on his knee."

Oxf. MS. Five monks are sitting on a long bench, while one in a chair is addressing them.

Lawson MS. See woodcut.

On Cuthbert's arrival at the church or monastery of Lindisfarne, he immediately delivered the monastic institutes to the brethren, both by example and teaching "that rule," says the Lindisfarne monk, "which we observe to this day with the Benedictine rule."¹⁵ This seems to imply that Cuthbert gave them a new rule, and he is here probably represented as instructing them out of copies of it. The figures of nuns mentioned above have a patched appearance, and may originally have represented monks. (*Bede*, xvi.; *Vit. Anon.* iii. 23.)

48. ST. CUTHBERT INSTRUCTING MONKS AND LAICS.

(Now 64.) A nimbed blue monk is standing, with prior's staff in his left hand, and his right hand elevated, and speaking to persons in front of him, who are attentively listening, viz.—A youthful blue monk, kneeling, with the tips of his fingers together, another blue monk, a man in white, with purple but patched collar, long hair, beard, etc., and hands elevated, a man with green coat, and close-cut hair. Behind the nimbed monk is another, as if in attendance on him. Tree and flowery ground behind.

Background, red.

Insertion.—A figure of a lady, with long hair, nimbed, perhaps of Peckitt's date.

Torre, 38 (67). "In 2^d light stands S^t Cuthbert in his pilgrim habit B., glory & staff O. A monk stands at his back, and two other monks before him, the foremost kneeling, all habited B."

Not only did Cuthbert instruct the brethren at Lindisfarne, but stirred up the people of the neighbourhood to seek after and desire heavenly things. *Bede*, xvi. Carlisle 8 may have been meant for this. See No. 36.

¹⁵ This mention of the Benedictine Rule must however be a gloss which has got into the text.



St. Cuthbert delivering the Monastic Institutes.
From the Lawson MS.

p. 313.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

49. REMONSTRATING IN CHAPTER?

(Now 32.) In a canopied high-backed chair sits a blue monk, not nimbed, with crosier in his left hand, his right hand raised, and his face turned towards another blue monk, nimbed, with his hands spread out as if earnestly addressing the central figure. Another blue monk stands with head bowed and hands crossed on breast as if reverently attending.

Background, blue.

Torre, 72 (26). "2^d Row. In 2^d under row & first light sits a bp. enthroned, habited B., crosier O. On each side him stands a monk, both habited B."

There were some at Lindisfarne who chose rather to follow their ancient customs than to obey the new rule. But by patiently and often discoursing upon the matter in the assembly of the brethren, he at last brought them all round. (*Bede*, xvi.) The figure in the chair may be the bishop or abbot. On the constitution of the monastery of Lindisfarne at this time, see *Bede*, xvi., at the beginning.

50. DRIVING AWAY FIENDS FROM FARNE.

(Now 67.) In a green field with trees stands a nimbed blue monk with prior's staff in his left hand, holding up his right hand with two fingers extended, towards two white demons half swine, half lions, with wings like bats, those of the one green and those of the other purple, both flying away from him.

Background, red.

Torre, 60 (49). "In 4th light stands St Cuthbert habited B., glory O. & A., staff O., and 2 spectres flying before him A., the first bodyed like a man & headed like a catt, the other is the like body & a boar's head."

Carlisle 13.

"*Wet by prayers fendys obt farn glad,*" etc.

Here however the fiends are only introduced incidentally. See No. 51.

After Cuthbert had passed many (twelve) years at Lindis-

farne he retired to the island of Farne in order to lead a hermit's life. Previous to his arrival, no one had been able to dwell there on account of its being so infested by demons, but the soldier of Christ by taking the armour of God put them all to flight. *Bede*, xvii.; *Vit. Anon.* iii. 23. The *Libellus* states that the Old Enemy often appeared to him in a visible form in the mountain of Doilweme (where other of the Farne scenes are placed) and tried in vain to frighten him away (cap. xxiv.) The fiends that Cuthbert drove from Farne settled in the adjacent island of Wedum, where afterwards the monks used to bury shipwrecked sailors. (*Reginaldi libellus*, *Surt. Soc.*, vol. 1, p. 69, and note.)

On apparitions of devils, see S. W. W. 276. It has been suggested that the "demons" who molested early hermits, etc., in inaccessible places, were in some cases at least the remnants of the old inhabitants driven thither by the invaders. See Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints*, April, p. 169.

51. BUILDING CELL IN FARNE.

(Now 57.) A nimbed blue monk is somewhat stooping and looking intently as if using a large pair of compasses about the length of his arm. Facing him is a nimbed angel in blue, with white wings, holding a yellow carpenter's square in both hands, one side of it now gone, but the angle just visible. In the distance, a green tree.

Background, light pink-purple.

Insertion, something like an anchor.

Torre, 57 (46). "In 3^d row & in the first light stands S^t Cuthbert habited B., glory O., receiving a pair of white compasses and a carpenter's square from an angell standing by him robed and winged A."

Carlisle 14.

"Her by prayers fendys obt farn glad
And w^t Angel hāds hys hous mad."

An angel in red and white robe, and wings of the same, is taking hold of one end of a squared block of Carlisle red sandstone, while a tonsured figure in black habit with hood down, takes the other, and together they are in the act of laying it in a course of a wall, the monk sitting on the wall, while the angel is supported in the air by his wings. There are remains of another monk. The background is a white

foliated pattern on a green ground under a semicircular arch. In each spandril of this are two little semicircular headed openings, out of one of which are flying two small black demons. Lady Harcourt's drawing shews the other monk just mentioned as kneeling in prayer under these, so that the artist has probably put two subjects into his picture as well as into his couplet. (See Nos. 50, 55.)

Oxf. MS. An angel helping a monk to lift a large squared stone, and a monk laying a similar stone in the wall of a building with a semicircular-headed doorway, and circular roof with round hole in centre. No devils.

Lawson MS. An angel helping a monk to lay a large squared stone in a wall, and a monk standing with hand and face raised upwards. Above him, and in the margin outside the border of the picture, the hind quarters of two small black beasts, cut away in the binding.

As soon as Cuthbert had put the demons to flight, he made himself a dwelling-place, nearly circular, sunk into the rock and walled round with unwrought stones and turf, some of the stones being so large that four men could scarcely lift them, but he was assisted by heavenly aid. The roof was formed of rough beams, and thatched with straw. *Bede*, xvii. ; *Vit. Anon.* iii. 24.

The York artist seems to have thought that the angel helped Cuthbert in the "setting out" of his circular cell, or perhaps the angel with square, and the compasses, are only a symbolical mode of setting forth that the holy man had supernatural assistance in the work of building. Compasses were apparently suggested by Bede's account of the cell as circular. In an Italian miniature of the 13th century, the Creator is drawn as a demi-figure with cruciferous nimbus, within seven fiery circles, holding in his left hand a balance, and in his right a pair of compasses. Didron, *Iconog. Chrétienne*, Par. 1843, p. 600. See *Postscript*, p. 375.

In a window in St. Edmund's Church, Salisbury, there was a representation of "God the Father creating the Sun and Moon, with a Pair of Compasses in his Hand, as if he had done it according to some Geometrical Rules." Proceedings in Star-Chamber against Henry Sherfield, Esq., 6 Feb. 1632, for breaking the window. 8vo. Lond. 1717, pp. 6, 10. The tract is in the Routh Library, Durham, xlvi. E. 7.

It is remarkable that both at York and at Carlisle, the saint is represented as engaged on buildings of considerable pretension. (See No. 55 and Carl. 14.)

The background of this panel differs from all the rest, though having every appearance of being original.¹⁶ It is neither ruby nor blue, but that peculiar pink-purple which is so characteristic of the perpendicular period.

Though Torre describes the angel's robe as "A," it is certainly blue, and always has been, as in Nos. 25, 33.

52. WITH MONKS IN FARNE ?

(Now 27.) A blue nimbed monk with prior's staff in his left hand, and his right hand raised, is walking and turning round to talk to three blue monks who are walking after him, one with both hands raised, and listening attentively, another with his hands crossed on his breast, and the third also appearing attentive. In the distance, two clumps of green trees, with white and yellow trunks.

Background, blue.

Torre, 58 (47). "In the 1st row & first light stand 3 monks together, all habited B., the last of them being St Cuthbert wth glory O. & A., pilgrim's staff O."

This may be intended for brethren in converse with Cuthbert in Farne, asking them to bring implements of husbandry, and wheat which he might sow, as he was seeing them off to the boat after one of their visits with bread. *Bede, xix.*

53. CUTHBERT AND MONKS SOWING CORN.

(Now 48.) In a green field with trees, surrounded by yellow posts and rails, partly furrowed, and with large grains of yellow corn lying like potatoes in the furrows, stands a nimbed blue monk with a yellow spade, giving directions to a blue monk with a yellow basket slung over his right shoulder and so under his left arm, which steadies it as he takes corn out of it to sow with his right hand. Another blue monk stands by, with a yellow spade. The handle of St. Cuthbert's spade is crutch shaped, but that of the other one is made by splitting the top and inserting a cross-piece, so as to form a triangular space with the sides slightly curved inwards.

¹⁶ See however S. W. W., p. 208.

Background, red.

Torre, 62 (41). "4th Row. In the 4th row & first light stands St Cuthbert & 2 monks together all habited B., wth pilgrim-staves O."

Lawson MS. Cuthbert at the door of his cell addressing three white birds which are flying away, and a young man in red tunic and green hose sowing corn broadcast from a basket slung round his neck. Two white birds are pecking at the corn on the ground. Blue water in the immediate foreground.

At the beginning of Cuthbert's seclusion in Farne he accepted bread from the monks, and drank of his spring, but soon thought he ought to live by the labours of his own hands. So he asked some of the brethren to bring implements, and wheat to sow. *Bede*, xix. cp. *Vit. Anon.* iii. 27.

Spades and shovels were generally made of wood, shod with iron, as occasionally, and for particular purposes, at the present time. On shod shovels, see *Arch. Journal*, xxxi. 53. Adam is represented with a shod spade in the west window of Canterbury Cathedral, the iron part very distinct, and the handle made, not by splitting, but with convex sides, as now. In the two MSS. the spades are represented as of wood shod with iron, but the whole of the cutting part is on one side of the shaft, the handles as at Canterbury. *Torre* seems to have mistaken the spades for pilgrims' staves, unless this description belongs to No. 46, q. v. See *Raine's North Durham*, p. 287 and note *d*.

54. REBUKING THE BIRDS THAT STOLE HIS CORN.

(Now 83.) In a ploughed field with large grains lying in furrows as in No. 53, stands St. Cuthbert as before, resting his left hand on a yellow walking-stick with beaked handle, and a ferule, holding up his right hand to and addressing some large birds, some flying, plumage white, legs, feet, and bills yellow, one on the ground, pale ruby, with yellow legs. In the distance, white buildings with thatched roofs patched with light red, also some white rocks.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

Oxf. MS. Cuthbert at the door of his circular cell, addressing four large birds, flying over corn in bearded ear, and turning their heads round as if to listen to him.

When midsummer had arrived, the wheat at first sown gave no signs of producing a harvest, so he asked the monks to bring barley, which they did. This he sowed, long after the proper time, yet it sprang up rapidly and produced an abundant crop. Now, as it was beginning to ripen, the birds came in flocks to feed on it, but, as he was accustomed cheerfully to tell, he advanced towards the birds and said, "Why do you touch the grain which you have not sown?" etc. When they at once departed, and came no more.

Bede xix.

This must be the scene here represented, and it is probably by a mere mistake of the artist that the corn is represented as just sown instead of being in ear. So in *Lawson MS.* See No. 53. It may, however, have been assumed that the reason why the first sown corn did not come to anything was that birds had eaten it.

55. BUILDING WITH SEA-BORNE PLANK.

(Now 84.) In the foreground are the walls of a building on which three monks are at work, represented as about a yard high, with basement mouldings, multifoil ornaments, etc. The monks are tonsured, in blue monastic habits; one, who is nimbed, is stooping to take up a yellow basket; another is moving a yellow plank, and the third is lifting up a large white stone in both hands. Near the building is a patch of red flowers and green leaves. In the distance, trees, with green tops and yellow trunks, and a building open at one end, shewing spars of wood inside, and thatch outside as well as between the spars; the sides seem to be of yellow timber with semicircular-headed openings, but are much patched.

Background, red.

Torre, 59 (48). "In 3^d light St Cuthbert & 3 monks stand by a church, habited B.; the 1st stooping to take up a piece of wood O., the 2^d to take up a basket, the 3^d with a book in his hand closed."

Cartisle 14. See Nos. 50, 51.

Oxf. MS. A monk speaking to two laymen in tunics and hose, and a monk holding up his hands at the sight of a red beam lying across green water.

Lawson MS. On the shore of the sea, in which is a boat close to land with three monks in it, stands a monk with crutch-staff, pointing to a red beam laid across a chasm, and apparently speaking to the monks in the boat.

When he wished to build himself a little cabin over a place which the waves had scooped out of the rock, he required a beam twelve feet long to put across this chasm, and requested the brethren to bring him one. They, however, forgot to do so; but the sea brought a beam of the exact size required, and washed it ashore exactly where it was ready to be used for the building. *Bede*, xxi. ; *Vit. Anon.* iii. 26.

The artist has aimed at pictorial effect more than at accuracy of detail in the designing of this panel, but the long yellow plank places it beyond all doubt that the above is the scene represented. The thatched building in the distance is the hospitium, see No. 53. There is a chasm in the rocks of Farne, into which the sea has free access, now called St. Cuthbert's Gut, and it is probable that St. Cuthbert wished to construct over it a little *camera privata*, as Bede says, "quotidianis necessitatibus aptam."

56. REBUKING THE CROWS THAT STOLE HIS THATCH.

(Now 58.) In a green field with a tree a blue nimbed monk with prior's staff is approaching a large doorway with portcullis at the top and steps at the bottom. One of a pair of yellow doors is opened inward, the other is closed. There is a large white bird, with wings expanded, over the blue and imbricated roof of the building in which the doorway is. A smaller white bird is perched below on a projection of the building, with its head and eye raised as if giving intelligent heed to the monk, who is regarding it with benignant eyes.

Background, red.

Torre, 64 (43). "In 3^d light is S^t Cuthbert walking to a castle O., he being habited B., glory & pilgrim staff O."

Two crows (*corvi*) that had been accustomed to settle on the island, carried off for their nest the thatch of the place constructed for the monks when they came to visit . . .

He, seeing this, checked them by a gentle motion of the hand, and forbade them further to injure the brethren's house. On their neglecting this injunction he bade them, in the name of Jesus Christ, to depart forthwith, which they did, mournfully. *Bede*, xx.; *Vit. Anon.* iii. 27. See *Postscript*, p. 376.

57. CROW BRINGING A PIECE OF FAT.

(Now 68.) In a green field is a man in blue, digging with a yellow spade with split handle, as in No. 53. On the ground at his feet is a large white bird with eager black eye, wings partly extended, and beak open, as if speaking. In the air are other like birds, one flying towards the man with a triangular piece of a yellow and white substance in its beak. There are rocks as in No. 54, and among the green grass are flowers, one a large thistle, with white jagged leaves, and purple flowers. In the distance a cruciform church with central tower, and two light red roofs ridged like lead, and an embattled wall like a city wall, stretching across the panel.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

Carlisle 17.

"The crows þat did hys hous bnthek
þat for full law fell at hys fete."

Standing at a very disproportionately large doorway, apparently of a cruciform church with semicircular-headed windows, is St. Cuthbert in black monastic habit, with his left hand resting on a prior's staff, and his right pointing with two fingers towards two black crows on the ground with wings spread open. He appears to be looking at and speaking to them. On the roof are four more crows, two and two, regarding one another. The building is pink, as of the local red sandstone, and the roofs are covered with yellow thatch. In the foreground is green grass, flowery with daisies, and the sea is shewn in the distance.

Oxf. MS. A monk resting his left hand on a one-sided spade, and pointing with his right at two black crows on the roof of a building, pulling at it with their beaks. On the other side of the building, the same monk with the spade, and a crow prostrate at his feet, looking at two more crows which are flying towards him and holding in their beaks a piece of yellow fat. (See woodcut, page 296.)

Lawson MS. A monk with crutch-staff standing at the door of a circular building with four black crows on the roof, holding out his

hand over another crow fluttering at his feet with a piece of yellow fat veined red in its beak. In both MSS. the artists have been careful to represent the piece of fat as curved on one side and straight on the other, in accordance with Bede's account.

Three days after St. Cuthbert had sent the crows away, one of them returned, lighted before him, spread its wings, bowed its head, uttered humble cries, as if asking forgiveness. He, understanding its language, gave it leave to come back, and shortly after, having gone to fetch its mate, they both returned, and laid at his feet half of a pig's fat,¹⁷ which he used to shew to the monks when they visited him, and let them grease their boots with it, teaching them humility by the example of the bird. *Bede*, xx. ; *Vit. Anon.* iii. 27.

The Lindisfarne monk has nothing about the birds and the corn, only the thatch story, which he says he had from most faithful witnesses, who had themselves greased their shoes with some of that very fat. His description of the crow's supplication for pardon is so quaint that it must be given in his own words : "Revertens ante pedes hominis Dei fodientis terram, supra sulcum expansis alis et inclinato capite sedens et mærens, humili voce veniam indulgentiæ deposcens, crocitare cœpit." To the simple minds of Cuthbert and the brethren the bird might easily seem to be seeking forgiveness when it was really seeking worms. And the pig's fat was probably brought to Farne by human hands, or washed ashore.

58. CUTHBERT'S GIRDLE BROUGHT TO ABBESS ÆLFLEDE ?

(Now 82.) A lady crowned and nimbed, in blue monastic habit, is with her right hand taking the right hand of a man in red tunic furred white, yellow belt, and blue hose, bare-headed, holding up his left hand open. The crowned lady is looking back towards another lady in blue monastic habit, white veil, and wimple, who seems to be talking to her. Parts of a white horse with yellow trappings, and of his rider, in white, holding the bridle, may be seen, in a patchy portion of the panel, and behind the horse a man's

¹⁷ Bede says, "dimidium videlicet axungiam porcina," the Lindisfarne monk, "dimidium suis adipem." No doubt it means the large mass of fat

about the kidneys from which lard is prepared. The boots (*caligæ*) are mentioned in the Benedictine Rule, cap. 62, and figured in Lawson MS. *passim*.

head with a blue cap. On the yellow ground are flowers done in white, and a clump of red flowers and green leaves. In the distance, a church with light blue lead roof and white pinnacles.

Background, red.

Torre, 66 (45). "In 5th light is a church, & 2 monks habited B. standing before it, the foremost being St Cuthbert giving something to a young man that stands by him uncovered, habited gu., leggs B. Behind the last appears the head and shoulders of a lady mantled erm., hooded B. Also a prince robed A. is mounted on a white horse."

Oxf. MS. A man in tunic and hose kneeling on his left knee and presenting to a lady reclining on a couch a long girdle. A nun binding the girdle round the head of another who is sitting and supporting her head on her hand as if in pain.

Lawson MS. A monk in white habit bringing a long green girdle to a nun in black habit over white sitting in a fine Norman building, while a young girl binds the girdle round her head.

This is a doubtful appropriation, but on the whole seems as probable as any that can be suggested. There is now no appearance of Torre's "prince robed A," but there has been much mutilation in that part of the panel. Nor is it now evident that the man with head uncovered is giving or receiving anything. The mistake as to sex in the principal figures is quite in Torre's manner. It may very possibly have represented travellers of distinction stopping to leave Cuthbert's girdle with Ælfede; for as Bede tells us, she was after a long illness unable to move save on all fours, like a quadruped, but thought if she could only have something from Cuthbert she should be well. And soon after, one brought her a linen girdle sent by Cuthbert. This she girt round her; the next morning she was able to stand erect, and on the third day was quite well. *Bede, xxiii.*

The Abbess Ælfede would be crowned in allusion to her royal lineage on both sides, for her father was Oswiu, King of Bernicia, and her mother, Eanfleda, daughter of Eadwine, first Christian King of Deira. She was Abbess of Streanshalch, now Whitby, where she succeeded St. Hilda, the foundress.

59. VOYAGE TO COQUET ISLAND ?

(Now 56.) In a ship with one mast, crow's nest, rope ladders, and a very full bulging sail, is a blue nimbed monk with prior's staff, held obliquely in his right hand, standing in the stern. Also another blue monk holding up his right hand and clinging to the rigging with his left, and a man in red coat and inserted blue cap, holding up one hand. They are close to the green shore, on which is a fine tree with yellow trunk and white top.

Background, blue.

Torre, 48 (57). "In 2^d light is a ship wth one mast, under sayl, and 3 monks in her, the 1st S. Cuthbert habited B., glory & pilgrim staff O. ; 2^d, monk habited B. ; 3^d, gu., cap O."

This is another doubtful appropriation. There is a story of Cuthbert's appearing long after his death in a storm at sea, in pontifical vestments, with his mitre on his head, and guiding a ship to Farne with his pastoral staff, as with a rudder. *Reginald*, cap. xxiii. It seemed at first that this might be the subject here represented, and that it was a mistake of the artist picturing him as a monk. But it is scarcely likely that such a mistake would be made, or that in such an apparition he would be represented without an aureole such as surrounds St. William or St. John of Beverley in the St. William window (S. W. W. 280). Again, no other miracle of St. Cuthbert after his death is represented save those at the shrine. So that on the whole it seems more probable that this panel represents one of his voyages during life, and it will suit his going to meet Ælfede, when she sent adjuring him in the name of the Lord that he would come and converse with her on some pressing affairs. So he went on board ship, accompanied by some of the brethren, and came to Coquet Island, where was a community of monks, for there Ælfede had requested him to meet her. *Bede*, xxiv. ; *Vit. Anon.* iii. 28.

In the MSS. we have illustrations to Bede, ch. xxi., representing Cuthbert speaking of his temptations to many who came to him. In Oxf. he is looking out at the window of his cell and conversing with a group of laymen in tunics. In Lawson he stands at his door talking to laymen in long

robes, standing on the grassy shore of the blue sea, in which part of their boat is seen.

[60. ÆLFLEDE QUESTIONING CUTHBERT ?

When Cuthbert had arrived at Coquet, the most reverend Ælflede questioned him on many points, *e. g.*, how long her brother Ecgfrid would reign, who would be his successor, etc. She also sounded him as to whether he was willing to be a bishop, knowing that her brother Ecgfrid wished to have him consecrated to that office. *Bede*, xxiv.; *Vit. Anon.* iii. 28.

This may possibly have been the subject of one of the lost panels.]

Torre, 78 (22). "In 2^d light sitts a bp. habited B. & A., myter & crosyer O.; glory A., before whom stands a nun habited A., cap B.; behind him another nun, habit and hood A."

Oxf. MS. Cuthbert looking out at the window of his cell, over the closed semi-circular-headed door. To the right he is sitting on a long seat with Norman details, conversing with Ælflede, both in monastic habit, and he with a crosier in his left hand.

Lawson MS. (Two pictures). 1, Ælflede in black habit prostrate on the sea-shore before Cuthbert, who is also in black habit, and bending over her as if to raise her up. Behind him are two black monks, and behind her a crowd of laymen in long robes of various colours; 2, Ecgfrith overcoming Cuthbert's *nolo episcopari*. See woodcut.

Canopies 56—60. Tabernacle-work less elaborate than that in 81—85, q. v., and apparently re-made. The pinacles are not so tall or so delicate, and there are only seven of them in each. One of the red backgrounds must have originally been blue, as there would be three blues and two reds to counterchange with the panels below.

61. INVESTITURE BY KING ECGFRITH.

(Now 33.) In the centre is a man in blue tunic, the sleeve furred white, and over it a white figured mantle. A crown is visible a little over his head, but not on it, as if it were being held off by a mutilated figure close by. A blue nimbed monk stands at his side, with a crosier in his left hand, and his right hand raised. The king is also holding the crosier or handing it to the monk, towards whom the crook is



King Egfrith persuading St. Cuthbert to quit his cell in Farne.

From the Lawson MS.

p. 331.

directed. Standing round are three other blue monks ; a man in red tunic, furred white, green-figured headcloth, green hose, and in his left hand the handle of a sword, the rest being gone ; a man in blue headcloth holding a mace, white with yellow hoops. Over the king's left shoulder is the cruciform head of a golden sceptre, the lower part of which is gone.

Background, red.

Insertions.—The blue of the first-mentioned figure and patchings.

Torre, 69 (33). "In 3^d light stands a king robed A., from his breast downwards purple, crowned and sceptred O. Before him stand 3 holy men habited B., glories O. & A., the foremost holding a crosier in his hand O. A sword bearer stands behind the king, habited gu., hood V^t, sword erected O. Also behind him stand 3 other monks, 1st habited V^t, 2^d B., 3^d cap. A."

Not long after Ælflæd's conversation with Cuthbert relative to the bishopric, he was elected to the see of Lindisfarne at a synod at Twyford on the Aln, over which Archbishop Theodore presided, in the presence of king Ecgfrith. When after this they were unable to drag him from his retreat, the king, bishop Trumwine, and other religious and honourable men, sailed to his island, dragged him to the synod, and constrained him to bow his neck to the yoke of the bishopric. (*Bede*, xxiv. ; *Eccl. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. xxviii. ; *Vit. Anon.* iv. 30.)

In its present patched condition, the panel is not very intelligible, but it seems to represent Ecgfrith delivering the crosier to Cuthbert, his crown being held off his head at the time, probably while he utters some sacred formula. The delivering or sending by the sovereign of a bishop's crosier or an archbishop's cross-staff was a regular mode of investiture. William Cumin, the would-be bishop of Durham, was prepared to receive the ring and pastoral staff from the Empress Matilda. (*Contin. Sym. Dunelm.* cap. iii.), and Anselm received the cross from William Rufus. Henry I. gave up the right of investiture, but it was maintained by Henry V. against Pope Paschal II. On the quarrels about investitures, see Milman's *Lat. Christianity*, iii. 326 ; Waddington's *Hist. of the Church*, ch. xvii. May not its intro-

duction into the window have been intended as a manifesto in favour of the claims of the sovereigns as against the popes?

MSS. See No. 60.

62. CONSECRATION.

(Now 46.) Much mutilated, but shows an archbishop and five bishops in vestments. The archbishop in alb, green dalmatic, red chasuble, and pallium with the cross-headed pins, holding in his left hand a crosier, or cross, the top hidden by the lead, and blessing with his right. One bishop is in white, figured, others are in blue. In the middle a throne, much mutilated, and one seated in it having a mitre put on by one bishop, while another places a crosier in his left hand. With the mitred bishops is seen a tonsured bare head behind.

Background, blue.

Torre, 76 (30). "In 5th light sits a young bp. habited A., myter & crosier O., glory A., & 5 monks kneel before him, 2 of them being habited gu., 2 A., 1 V^t. Also 2 other monks stand behind him, one habited purple, the other B."

Carlisle 13—

"Consecrate byshop pai made hh her
off lyndisfarne both far and ner."

Very much defaced, but shews remains of red and yellow pattern background, and black and green lozengy floor. On the east, a boy in girded alb is holding up with both hands a jewelled mitre with red lining, of moderate height. Next to him is a tonsured figure in green cope over red tunicle over alb with green apparel, standing *unctis manibus*, and bowing towards a central figure which is nearly all gone, but seems to have represented a man seated. There are remains of hair about the face, and of the left hand holding something (?), and of his right hand elevated, as if holding a crozier. The lower border of his robe is visible. To the west of him stands a figure, with a crown on his head, yellow beard, and red robe with ermine tippet and ermine below, indicated by heraldic black ermine-spots on white. In his right hand is a sceptre with trifid top. There are the remains of two more faces looking on. The coped figure is wrongly represented by Lady Harcourt as kneeling, and the central figure of a bishop in her drawing is quite imaginary.

Cuthbert's "ordination" took place at York the following Easter, March 26, A.D. 685, in the presence of King

Ecgrith, seven bishops meeting at the consecration, among whom was the Primate Theodore. (*Bede*, xxiv.; *Eccl. Hist.* iv., xxviii.; *Vit. Anon.* iv. 30.)

63. ALMSDEEDS.

(Now 22.) A nimbed and mitred bishop in white alb and pink-purple cope, with yellow edges, holds a crosier in his left hand, while, with his right, he is holding three disks like coins, but not marked by any device, to one of three men who are approaching, and two of them looking very eagerly. One is bareheaded, with long hair and beard, another has a narrow-brimmed close-fitting green hat. The foremost is in white, kneeling on the ground, and resting his armpits on a pair of crutches, his white hood is up, his hands held forth to the bishop, and his eyes closed, perhaps blind. Behind the bishop are three monks, one with an inserted green cap, and one in red with tippet furred white.

Background, red.

Torre, 75 (29). "In 4th light stands a bp. habited purple, myter & crosier O., glory A. Before him kneels a lady, habit & hood A., and 5 monks stand about him, 4 habited B., one gu."

Bede does not specially mention Cuthbert's giving money away (see No. 64), but this is no doubt the subject here represented. In the "Works of Mercy" window at All Saints, North Street, York, coins are represented with crosses and dots on them. It is a curious instance of Torre's inaccuracy that he should describe the cripple on crutches as "a lady, habit & hood A."

64. WORKS OF MERCY.

(Now 35.) Much mutilated and patched, but several figures may be made out in a more or less perfect condition. They will best be described in order, beginning at the east. 1. Man in pink, with red cap. 2. Figure in blue, with inserted nimbed head, holding a white coat lined yellow. 3. Traces of a bishop with white chasuble and crosier at his feet, a large round white basket, containing about a dozen yellow-topped loaves. 4. Figure in green, with patches and an inserted nimbed head. 5. A naked figure standing with

right hand up, and with left holding a stick, or perhaps the handle or strap of a basket or pouch. The body is much patched, but shews the chest with collar-bones, the arms, and down to the thighs. 6. Man in red, bareheaded. 7. Man in loose white garment, with yellow stick (?). 8. Man in green, with green cap. 9. Man in red, bareheaded.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

Cuthbert, when a bishop, gave food to the hungry, clothing to those who were shivering with cold, and his whole life was marked with the other signs that betokened a bishop indeed. *Bede*, cap. xxvi. ; *Vit. Anon.* iv. 30. Oxf. MS. has an illustration to this chapter, representing him reading a book on a desk, and also addressing a number of lay folk, as he leans on his crutch and staff.

For bread-basket see S. W. W. 312.

65. EARL SIBBA'S SERVANT HEALED.

(Now 30.) In a bed, with selour fringed yellow, and white coverlet, figured with large circles of yellow spots round quatrefoils of the same, and with a very rich border, a man is lying on his back as if sick, and without nightdress. At the head of the bed a woman in white veil and yellow dress, patched, and by the side of it, bending towards the sick person, a young-looking man, apparently tonsured, in red robe, with tippet of darker red, edged and collared with white fur, holding a yellow basin towards the sick person, who is reaching his right hand towards it. Another man stands by, in green tunic, blue hose, white turned up cap, and belt, with short dagger.

Background, red.

Torre, 71 (35). "In 5th light lyes a lady in bed, by whom stands a woman habited O., and a monk habited gu., administering to the s^d lady out of a basin. Behind him sits another man habited V^t, leggs B., cap A."

Oxf. MS. Cuthbert is sitting bare headed in something like a short chasuble over a long green robe, with crosier in left hand. One man is standing and speaking to him, while another, in tunic, kneels before him with a basin. A man is sitting up naked in bed, while another, in a

sort of cloak over his habit and tonsured, is administering holy water to him with a sprinkler like a brush.

Lawson MS. A leaf missing.

Soon after Cuthbert was made bishop, a certain earl of king Egfrid, named Sibba, besought him that he would heal his servant, who seemed like a dying man. Cuthbert blessed some water, and sent it by another servant of the earl, named Baldhelm, who was living as a priest at Lindisfarne in Bede's time, and told him of the miracle, namely, that as Baldhelm was pouring a little of the water for the third time into the patient's mouth, he fell into a deep sleep and woke up quite well. (*Bede*, xxv. ; *Vit. Anon.* iv. 36.)

It is rather remarkable that Baldhelm should be represented in what seems to be an ecclesiastical garb, and tonsured. But he is so in Oxf. MS. also, and perhaps he was thought to have been a chaplain of Sibba's household. The figure with the short dagger is probably meant for earl Sibba himself.

66. RECEIVING ANNOUNCEMENT FROM ANGEL.

(Now 50.) A much mutilated panel, but there is an angel in white, holding up a long scroll uninscribed, to a blue nimbed monk sitting in a stone chair, the angel looking as if making an announcement of some sort. Behind the chair an old bearded man in white tunic, long red cloak, and green cap, and a portion of another man in green tunic and yellow belt. In the distance, a building like a cruciform church, with yellow imbricated roofs.

Background, red.

Torre, 46 (65). "In 5th light stands an angell in white, winged O., glory O. & A., wth an escrowle in his hand, before whom sits a bp. in a chair, robed B. On either hand stands an old monk, 1 habited V^t, cap purple, 2^d gu., cap V^t."

Torre describes the seated figure as a bishop ; the head is now too much mutilated to shew anything ; it may have been nitred. The subject may possibly be some angelic announcement relative to Ecgfrith's death. See No. 67.

67. VISION OF ECGFRITH'S DEATH IN BATTLE.

(Now 25.) A very much mutilated panel, evidently repre-

senting a battle. There are two parties of soldiers charging one another with yellow spears. The men are in white plate armour, and low conical helmets, and there are portions of armour lying on the ground. Among the spears may be discerned what appears to be a crossbow.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

Oxf. MS. A group of people, lay and religious, round a well, one of whom is Cuthbert with his crosier, and his head drooping to one side. There are two laymen in cloaks over tunics, and two monks, one in a cloak over his habit; these latter seem to be supporting Cuthbert.

Lawson MS. Cuthbert with white mitre and crosier, in red cope, speaking to Ælfede in black habit with hood up. Lay folk standing around, and in the middle of the foreground a circular well out of which water is flowing.

While king Ecgrith was fighting with the Picts, Cuthbert was at Carlisle, and was going round the city with Waga the "præpositus" and other citizens, to inspect the city walls, a wonderful Roman well, and other curiosities. While thus engaged, he suddenly became disturbed and sad, and expressed great anxiety lest the king should be slain, for, as was thought, he in spirit saw the battle from afar. The next day one who had escaped came to say the king was slain. (*Bede*, xxvii.; *Vit. Anon.* iv. 37.) See *Postscript*, p. 376.

This panel may represent the vision which Cuthbert was supposed to have had. The MSS. represent his seeing it.

68. HILDMER HEALED BY A PIECE OF BREAD.

(Now 71.) In a much mutilated bed, with figured coverlet and hangings of figured green and purplish pink, as in No. 33, lies a man (?), with his head tied up in a white kerchief. By the bed stand two or three blue monks and a man in red tunic furred white, green hose, white belt and short dagger in ornamental sheath, and blue headcloth, gold chain, and forked beard, apparently looking at the person in bed. One blue monk, with his hands crossed on his breast, is looking at the man in red tunic; another, nimbed, is with his right hand giving a piece of white bread (?) to the person in bed, and holding up two fingers of his left. The sick person is holding out the right hand to receive the bread.

Background, red.

Torre, 55 (54). "In 4th light lyes a lady sick in bed O. & A.; before her stand 4 monks habited B., the foremost being S^t Cuthbert giving the hoste to her. Behind him stands a woman habited gu., hood B., leggs V^t."

Oxf. MS. A man sitting up naked in bed, and five laymen in tunics hastening towards him, the foremost with smiling countenance offering a square piece of bread.

Lawson MS. A bishop in mitre and red cope, with crosier in left hand, putting a piece of bread into the mouth of a man sitting up in bed, in a white night-shirt.

In Bede's 31st chapter, he relates how Hildmer, whose wife had been healed previously (see Nos. 41-43) was himself healed by bread which had been blessed by Cuthbert. A little piece of the loaf, however, was put into water, and so given to the man to drink. There seems to be nothing that more nearly corresponds with this panel. What Torre calls "the hoste" is a fragment of some white substance of irregular form, and looks about the size of one's fist. Torre's "woman" is certainly a man; the sex of the person in bed is not indicated, but the figure may be meant for Hildmer, and the nimbed person giving him bread is an ideal way of representing that he was healed in the way described by Bede. Compare Lawson MS.

[69. SENDING HOLY WATER-TO HEUNNA'S WIFE?

Torre, 80 (24). "In 4th light sitts a bp. robed A. & B., myter & crosyer O., before whom stands a monk habited A. & B., wth a golden platter in his hand, behind him stands a man habited gu., leggs B., cap purple."

There does not appear to be anything corresponding to this now, but it may be one of the lost panels, and seems to correspond with the account in Bede xxix., of earl Heunna beseeching him to bless some water to sprinkle his wife with, she being hopelessly sick. The man of God at once did so, and gave it to a priest, one Beta, who was living at the time when the Lindisfarne monk wrote, ordering him to sprinkle her with it. The "man habited gu." is probably the earl, and this panel a companion to No. 70. For the narrative see Vit. Anon. iv. 32, for particulars not in Bede.]

Oxf. MS. Cuthbert with a book in his hand, sitting on a bench in conversation with a layman in cloak over tunic. A tonsured figure sprinkling a woman who lies naked in bed.

Lawson MS. A monk holding a holy water bucket in his left and a sprinkler in his right, standing by a bed in which is a woman in white night-gown.

70. HEUNNA'S WIFE CURED BY HOLY WATER?

(Now 16.) In a bed with red hangings on yellow poles, selour fringed green and blue, and red coverlet with white sheet turned over, lies a young person naked all but the head, on which is a white nightkerchief. The left arm is lying outside the coverlet. A woman in a figured white gown supports the patient's head, while a bishop in a blue habit and blue tippet hooded and lined white, mitred but not nimbed, kneels and offers a yellow saucer to the patient, who looks eagerly at it. At the foot of the bed are three men, one in surplice and white fur almuce with golden morse, and the usual small dark coloured ends to the pendent tails, holding a yellow holy-water pail in his right hand and a crosier in his left; a man in a surplice holding up the bishop's white hood behind his mitre, and a man in blue with green hood, perhaps patched.

Background, red.

Torre. Not identified.

See on No. 69. It is probable that this is a companion panel to the last. Both Bede and the Lindisfarne monk seem to imply that Cuthbert was not present at the healing, and that the priest Beta administered the holy water. The mitre is perhaps an artist's error, but see No. 68.

71. RESTORING A DYING CHILD.

(Now 17.) A much mutilated panel, but, before a nimbed and mitred bishop in white figured cope, kneels on flowery grass a lady in white, with white veil. The bishop holds in his arms a child in a white shirt, while a blue monk stands behind and holds his crosier. There are also a white monk, and a man in a red coat and green cap. In the distance, a church with a lead roof, and a cross on the gable. Among

the flowers is a handsome plant with yellow leaves and pink blossom.

Background, red.

Torre, 83 (17). "In 2^d light stands a bp. habited A. & purple, myter & glory A. ; before him kneels a lady habited A., and behind him stands a monk habited B., & the head of a woman. Last of all stands another man habited gu., cap V^t."

Carlisle 15—

"To thys chyld god grauntyd lyfe
throggh hys prayets — to — s wyffe."

Background of a lozengy red pattern. To the east stands St. Cuthbert as a bishop, with rich jewelled mitre, and in his left hand a pink crosier with yellow crocketed head. He is vested in a green cope over an albe with green apparel, and red shoes. Standing on the flowery grass before him are two figures, one nearly gone, in greenish dress, the other a woman in pink cloak over red gown, holding on her two arms a child swathed in green but with bare legs.

Oxf. MS. St Cuthbert, with uncovered tonsured head, receiving from the mother's arms the child as if to kiss it. Behind him, two monks, one holding his crosier. Near the mother two other women. The child clothed in loose dress.

Lawson MS. The mother, with long flowing robes and long yellow hair, holding the child before St Cuthbert, who is in red cope over green dalmatic bordered red over plain albe, with white mitre, and crosier in left hand, holding his right towards child with two fingers extended. The child *junctis manibus*, in white nightgown.

In a time of pestilence, while Cuthbert was consoling survivors, he saw a weeping mother who had lost one child, with another dying in her arms. Giving his blessing, he kissed the child, and it recovered. This was told to the Lindisfarne monk by the priest Tidi. (*Bede*, xxxiii. ; *Vit. Anon.* iv. 35.)

72. VISION AT ÆLFLEDE'S TABLE.

(Now 12.) A much mutilated and dirty panel, but shews indications of a room with paved floor and green hangings attached to a crested cornice. There are remains of five or six figures sitting at a table on which are two yellow bowls. In clouds above are two angels supporting a soul represented as a white naked child with golden hair. The figures round the table are, 1. Man with beard, in figured

white, standing. 2. Tonsured man in red, with tippet edged white, at the table. 3—6. Red, blue, and white patches, apparently costumes of persons at the table.

Background, blue.

Torre, 77 (21) ? "In 3^d row & 1st light sitt about a table a bp. habited & mytred A., and on one hand him an old father habited A., cap B. ; on the other hand a young prince robed gu. At their feet kneels a nun & 2 monks, all habited B."

Oxf. MS. At a table on which are two and a half "cross buns," and two cups, sits S^t Cuthbert *nimbed* (the only instance in the series), with Ælfede in monastic habit with hood up on his right, and a monk on his left. A man in tunic and cloak is saying something to Ælfede, and a knife is dropping from Cuthbert's hand. At a little distance is a man falling headlong from a tree. (See woodcut.)

Lawson MS. (Two pictures). 1, Man falling headlong from tree ; 2, at a table with white diapered cloth, on which are a fish on a dish, a plate, and a covered cup, and a knife dropping from Cuthbert's hand, stand he and Ælfede as if they had just risen. A man in secular attire is delivering a letter to the abbess, who is in monastic habit with hood up.

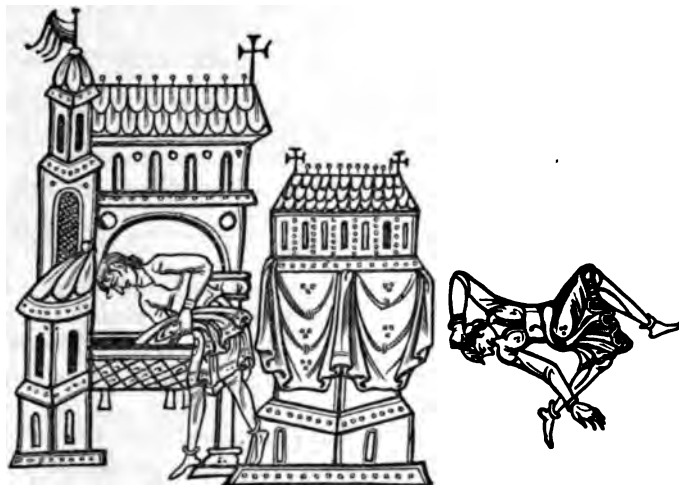
When Cuthbert, conscious of approaching death, resolved to return to a solitary life, he made a farewell visitation of his diocese and acquaintance. While thus engaged, as he was sitting at meat with the abbess Ælfede in her monastery of Osingadun, he suddenly turned his mind from the carnal feast to the contemplation of spiritual things. His limbs shook, his colour changed, his eyes looked astounded, and his knife dropped. The abbess asked him what he had seen, and he at first playfully dissembled, asking her if she thought he could eat the whole day. But as she urged him to reveal the vision, he said, "I have seen the soul of a certain holy person borne up by the hands of angels to the joys of the kingdom of heaven." She asked, "From what place was he taken ?" He replied, "From your monastery," and on her asking the name of the person, he said, "Tomorrow, when I am celebrating mass, you shall yourself tell me his name." She now sent to her greater monastery to make inquiry, but the messenger found all well there. On his return the next day, however, he met some persons carrying in a cart the body of a deceased brother to be buried, and found that it was one of the shepherds, a holy man, who had climbed a tree and fallen down, and was



St. Cuthbert's vision at Elfed's tabl

From the Oxford MS.

p. 339.



A Norman thief at Durham Cathedral.

From the Oxford MS.

p. 360.

so much injured that he expired at the very time when the man of God had seen him borne up to heaven. The messenger at once told the abbess, who immediately went to the bishop, then engaged in dedicating the church, and, with womanlike astonishment, "I pray you," said she, "my lord bishop, remember during mass the soul of my servant Haduuald, who died yesterday, by falling from a tree." Thus was manifested the spirit of prophecy in the holy man. (*Bede*, xxxiv. ; *Vit. Anon.* iv. 39.)

73. HEALING OR CONFIRMING.

(Now 45.) Much patched and injured. In a green field with trees, one with lavender top and white trunk, stands a bishop in albe, red dalmatic, and white chasuble, mitred, with crosier in left hand, holding his right towards or over a little boy in red, kneeling before him, and apparently brought by his parents, a bearded man in blue and white and a woman in green with white veil patched blue. Behind the bishop, a monk in blue habit with green tippet and fur hood down, and a bearded man, much patched, but retaining part of his blue cap and a purple shoulder.

Background, red.

Torre, 26 (85). "In the 5th light stands a bp. habited A., myter & crosier O., and a monk habited B. ; likewise an old man habited purple, cap B. Before the bp. stands another old man habited B. & A., and a boy habited gu., also behind them a young woman habited V^t."

The healing scene is thus represented in Oxf. MS.

A young man on a bier, raising himself as S^t Cuthbert touches him with two fingers of his right hand, while a monk holds the crosier. Three spectators.

Lawson MS. Leaf missing.

Once as Cuthbert was travelling in a wild district, preaching and confirming, a young man wasted with grievous sickness, was brought to him for his blessing, which, having ordered all to withdraw to a distance, and having recourse to prayer, he gave ; and forthwith the malady, which the physicians could not cure with all their compounded drugs, was driven away. (*Bede*, xxxii. ; *Vit. Anon.* iv. 34.)

On the whole it seems most probable that this represents

confirmation, which is twice referred to by Bede in the same chapter, though the word itself is not used. The bringing of the youth to be healed has perhaps been represented in No. 82, q. v.

74. PREPARING TO CELEBRATE MASS.

(Now 29.) In bad condition, but there is a bishop mitred and nimbed, with crosier in left hand, apparently vested in white cope over blue dalmatic and white albe. Before him kneels a very mutilated figure in blue over white, *junctis manibus*, and the bishop is holding his right hand over his head, with two fingers extended. A person in white (very obscure about the head), seems to be placing on a table with a white cover, a white super-altar or *mensa portatilis* of the usual shape and size, fastened by four rivets or pegs into a frame slightly rounded at the corners, with a cross-crosslet in the middle, and a simple cross at each corner. Another figure in white, and tonsured, is holding a yellow coffer with partitions in it, open in his hands. Also a man in blue tunic, blue hose, red tippet, and purple cap. Behind are red hangings with rings on a yellow pole, above which is seen a thatched roof. There is a good deal of pink-purple, but it is uncertain whether it be the under cover of the table on which the portable altar is being placed, or an abnormal background, as in No. 51. Had the background been red, we might have supposed it was the consecration of the church referred to under No. 72, and if the background were originally purple, the supposition seems not unreasonable.

Background, blue, or, purple largely patched with blue.

Torre. Not identified.

Though Bede does not mention it, we may safely assume that Cuthbert celebrated mass while on missionary journeys away from churches, and in the 15th century he would have been supposed to do so every day. The kneeling figure may be some one who has made confession preparatory to communion. The portable altar is such as were in use in the Middle Ages, and are still employed where the Eucharist is celebrated in private houses, etc. For an account of them see Rock, *Ch. of our Fathers*, i. 249. It is

exceedingly probable that one now preserved at Durham was actually used by St. Cuthbert. We learn from the anonymous "*Historica Narratio*" (Boll. p. 138, Raine, p. 75.) and from Reginald, cap. xlii. Raine, p. 91.) that at the translation of 1104 was found and replaced with the body, among other things, *altare argenteum*, and these are among the earliest notices of such a thing in this country. In 1827 a portable altar of wood, measuring six inches by five, with crosses and incised Runic and Roman letters, cased in thin silver, with crosses, interlacing pattern, and letters in repoussé work, was found. It is described and figured in Raine (p. 199, pl. vi.) and is preserved in the Durham Chapter Library, with other relics found then and in 1104. The letters on the silver have not been read so as to make any sense. On the wood we have, IN HONOR S PETRV. See Hübner, *Insc. Brit. Christianæ*, p. 82.

The coffer with partitions, figured in the window, would be for the sacred vessels, elements, chrism, etc.

75. TURNING WATER INTO WINE ?

(Now 18.) In a room with green hangings on white poles is a long white table with gold plates and cups, with some remains of figures at or near it, but the whole panel is so confused and patched that very little of the original design remains. Among the fragments is a piece of a robe powdered with rs.

Background, red.

Torre, 84 (18) ? See No. 72. "In 3^d light is a table bearing several golden dishes, about w^{ch} sitts a bp. habited B., myter O., glory A. ; and on the far side him a nun habited B., hood murry, vayl A. On the fore side sitt 2 monks, one hooded gu., 2^d B., and a 3^d monk kneeling between them habited gu."

Oxf. MS. Cuthbert and the abbess Verca sitting together on a long seat, he with crosier in left hand and with right receiving a cup from a man who presents it on his knees. Two men standing together, one with the cup in his hand, and both with the expression of *tasting* vividly depicted in their faces.

Lawson MS. Cuthbert and the abbess seated, he receiving with his right hand a cup from a man in green who presents it on his knee. Another man in a red cloak, tonsured, sits by Cuthbert.

After his visitation of the mountainous districts he was

honourably received by the abbess Verca at her monastery near the mouth of the Tyne, on the south side ; while there he was thirsty and asked for water, which they brought him from the spring. Having blessed it and drank, he handed it to his priest, who gave it back to the attendant, a priest of the monastery. He tasting it found that it had acquired the flavour of wine, as did another brother who also tried it. Bede, xxxv. Not in Vit. Anon. or in Bede's metrical life.

According to Bede's story, which he says he had from one of those who tasted the water that had been changed, it does not seem to have been at a meal, but this may nevertheless have been the artist's idea. However, it may just as well be any other banquet scene, except that represented in No. 72, about which there can be no mistake.

76. LAST VOYAGE TO FARNE.

(Now 66.) A yellow ship of two masts, with two large square sails on yards, with rings, in which are portions of three figures, much confused, one in red. On the shore some blue monks, and a church, much patched. Some star-fishes and sea anemones are shewn as upon the brown sand.

Background, red.

Torre, 29 (78). "In 3^d light stand other two monks habited B., & a church by them, also a ship of 2 masts, under sayl, wth a monk in her habited gu."

Oxf. MS. Two monks sitting and conversing. Two monks sitting on another seat and conversing.

Lawson MS. See woodcut. In the MS., however, it is, apparently by mistake, set at the beginning of the following chapter.

Insertions. In the ship, a head of yellow hair and clasped hands. On the shore, the nimbed head of one of the monks ? Part of an angel with yellow wings.

When Cuthbert went to Farne for the last time, a crowd of brethren saw him off, and one, strong in faith, asked him when he would return. To which he replied, "When you shall bring my body hither." *Bede, xxxvii.*

77. WASHING OF FEET.

(Now 62.) A nimbed blue monk is sitting in a white and



St. Cuthbert's last voyage to Farnes.

From the Lawson MS.

p. 346.

Oxf. MS. A wide archway under which sit two monks. Another is standing speaking to them, and pointing to a goose hanging by the neck from the top of the arch. As if behind the building, and partly concealed by it, a boat with mast and sail, and indication of waves.

Lawson MS. leaf missing.

One day, during Cuthbert's last residence in Farne, several persons having come to visit him, he refreshed them with words of exhortation, and concluded by telling them to take a goose (*auca*) which was hanging by the wall, to cook and eat it, and go home. However, as they had abundance of other food with them, they did not care to touch the goose, but refreshed themselves with what they had brought and were just preparing to go on board their boat, when a violent tempest arose and kept them seven days on the island, shut up by the boiling waves. At last Cuthbert playfully rebuked them for their disobedience, and told them to put the goose forthwith into the cauldron. No sooner did they obey the man of God, and the water in the cauldron began to boil, than the waters of the sea began to cease from their boiling, and as soon as they had finished the goose they were able to return home with joy, but at the same time with shame for their disobedience and slowness of heart. Bede says he did not learn this miracle from any vague authority, but had it from one Cynemund, who was still living when he wrote, and was one of those who were punished in the way described. (*Bede*, xxxvi.)

As the panel has some indications of having represented a kitchen scene, it may possibly have been this cooking of the goose.

79. LAST ILLNESS.

(Now 20.) A mitred bishop is lying in a bed and placing his *left* hand on the head of a blue monk, who is kneeling beside it. There are other figures standing by, one in red, with red tippet-edged white, with one hand on what looks like a parchment document lying unrolled on the bed. He is looking piously at the bishop, whose eyes seem to meet his.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

Oxf. MS. A monk lying down in his habit, and partly under a coverlet. One monk sits and another stands by him.

Lawson MS. The last voyage to Farne. See p. 346.

When Cuthbert was first attacked by his last illness, Herefrid, abbot of Lindisfarne, came with others to visit him. They besought his blessing, and received his directions concerning his burial. (*Bede* xxxvii.—xxxix.)

80. VEXED BY DEMONS ON DEATHBED.

(Now 19.) In a bed lies a nimbed and mitred bishop, looking calmly at a frightful red and winged demon, standing on the bed foot and bending over him. On the paved floor stands a shaggy green demon. Walking away, but looking back with a malicious expression, as if to say he was going to fetch other spirits more wicked than himself, is a shaggy white demon with long upper tusks pointing downward, a pair of blue horns, pendulous ears, a hand consisting of two huge claws with a rudimentary thumb, and having faces on the groin and knees. By the bedside is a smaller white and winged demon. The bed is seen as if in a building with blue lead roof, thrown open to display the interior. No. 33 is managed in a similar way, also Carlisle 7, see No. 34. There are hangings of light blue with green spots produced by yellow stain. [See coloured illustration.]

Background, red.

Torre, 85 (19). "In 4th light sits an holy man habited A., skirts O., before whom appears 2 specters, one gu., like (*blank*), the other V^t., like a bear."

During Cuthbert's last illness in Farne he said to Herefrid, "Never have my enemies, during all the time I have abode in this island, assailed me with so many persecutions as during these five days." (*Bede* xxxvii.)

He was probably referring to *temptations*, afterwards imagined or at least pictorially represented as demons, so that we have here nothing inconsistent with his having expelled all the demons on his first arrival. They would be of a different class, and are in fact differently represented. See No. 50, and Postscript, p. 376.

81. DEATHBED.

(Now 26.) Consists entirely of fragments, but there are indications of a mitred but naked bishop lying as on a bed, and a blue monk kneeling at it praying out of an open book which lies on the coverlet. The following fragments may also be noted : Parts of a blue monk, tonsured, with hands crossed on breast, and of a figure in white ; some rays of yellow light, inverted ; some pink-purple drapery ; parts of the face and of the yellow wings of an angel ; Christ in the clouds, with cruciferous nimbus.

Background, much patched with blue, but some small portions of red appear to be *in situ*.

Torre. Not identified.

Carlisle 16—

“ Bissshop two perps when he had beyn
in farne he died both holy and clene.”

To the east, in a yellow chair, placed on a floor of green lozenge-shaped pavers, sits St. Cuthbert in green robe, with his nimbed head thrown back, and *junctis manibus*. Behind him, under a waggon-headed canopy, yellow outside and in at the top, but lined with red below, stands a tonsured figure in alb, apparelled red, as if supporting the dying saint. In front a tonsured figure in alb with red apparel and girdle, holding a yellow ciborium with cover. In the air above, traces of two angels with red wings, bearing up the soul, in a red aureole, into the sky with red stars.

Oxf. MS. No picture.

Lawson MS. See woodcut. Cuthbert's outer robe is black, and the inner white. The ministers are in long surplices, chalice gold. Angels' wings like the rainbow.

In the account of Cuthbert's last hours which Herefrid gave to Bede, he says : “ When the wonted time of nocturn prayers was come, after having received the salutary sacraments at my hands, he fortified his departure, which he knew had now come, by the Communion of the Body and Blood of Our Lord ; and having lifted up his eyes to heaven, and extended his hands on high, his soul, intent on heavenly praises, departed to the joys of the kingdom of heaven.” (*Bede xxxix.*).

It seems pretty certain that this York subject, like Car-



Death of St. Cuthbert in Farn
From the Lawso MS

lisle 16 and Lawson MS., has been that of Cuthbert's soul being borne to the presence of Christ.

Both MSS. have illustrations of the brethren giving signals from Farne to Lindisfarne by holding up lighted torches when the soul departed. (*Bede* xl.)

82. BODY WRAPPED IN VERCA'S SHEET. ?

(Now 23.) Consists entirely of fragments, but there is some appearance of a number of persons wrapping a body in a white sheet. One knee of the body, however, is raised, unlike that of a dead body, unless held up. There are at least eight figures in all, much confused, in a grass field with yellow and blue trees. The people all look like lay folk, but there is a nimbed and mitred head out of its place. A woman in a blue hood seems to be doing something at the feet of the body, and a man in red with tippet-edged white has his right hand on one of the knees. The body seems more or less enveloped in a white sheet. The following figures or fragments of figures may be discerned: Man standing, in blue tunic, green cap, and white hose; head of man with large white beard, etc., and white headcloth, near the ground; person in yellow cap; man in red cap; head with cap of delicate pink-purple.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

When Cuthbert gave charge concerning his burial, he told Herefrid of a [stone] coffin hidden by sods, which the Abbot Cudda had given him, in which he desired that his body should be placed, wrapped in the fine linen which would be found therein. "I would not indeed be clothed in it while living," he said, "but for the love of the God-beloved woman who sent it to me, the Abbess Verca to wit, I have taken care to preserve it to wrap my body." (*Bede* xxxvii.)

The great reason against this panel having represented the winding of Cuthbert's body is, that all the persons employed seem to be lay folk. It may possibly have represented a helpless young man brought to St. Cuthbert to be healed. See No. 73. And we ought here to have the finding of the uncorrupt body, which forms the subject of Carlisle 18, thus :—

" xj 3et after p' berpd was he
 9ai fand hym hole as red may 3e."

Background, a red and yellow pattern. Three tonsured black monks are represented looking intently at the body. One is lifting a black or dark grey marble slab off a tomb of the same, and exposing the dead body of St. Cuthbert, with his eyes closed as if asleep, vested in red over an albe with red apparels on the sleeves; on his head is a yellow mitre, jewelled, and on his breast stands a covered chalice or ciborium. His hands are laid upon his body, not crossed.

Also illustrated in the MSS.

Oxf. MS. Two monks lifting the cover off a tomb, in which is a body wrapped up. Another holds cloth in his hands, and two more are in attitudes of astonishment.

Lawson MS. See woodcut, Raine, p. 38. The block has been mislaid, or would have been used here.

83. MIRACLES AT THE FIRST TOMB.

(Now 34.) On a tomb shewing two arched openings on its side, and one at each end, lies a mitred bishop in blue, *junctis manibus*. Over him is a roof-like canopy with crockets, cresting, and finials, supported by four pillars which rest on the tomb and end in pinnacles. Four of the arched openings are shewn, each with a figure kneeling at it as if to touch the body within. One of these is naked, and has got partly through the hole; another is patched, another red, and another blue. A man in white tunic and green hose is approaching by the aid of two yellow crutches; his head is inserted.

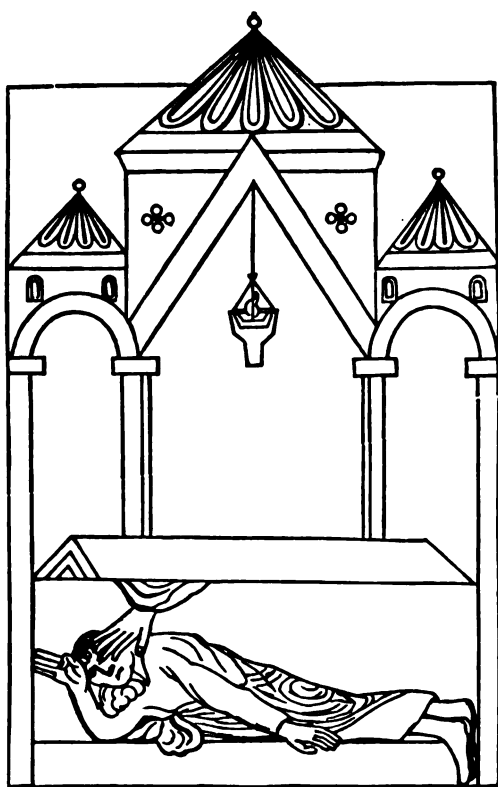
Background, red.

Torre, 86 (20)? "In 5th light a monk habited B. kneels before an altar, & sev^{all} others stand about it, one whereof is habited A., two gu., two B." ¹⁰

Oxf. MS. (Cap. xliii.) Two monks are placing a body wound up in grave-clothes in a tomb with a plinth under which there is room for another body.

(Cap. xliv.) A man prostrate before a tomb with arched openings, on the top of which is a cloth, and on that a feretory with imbricated roof, and gable crosses. Two men standing by; and a Romanesque building.

¹⁰ *Torre's* 86, 88, 91 (20, 12, 15) seem to refer to the three shrine subjects, No. 83, 84, 85, but their separate identification is perhaps impossible.



Baduthegn healed of a palsy at St. Cuthbert's tomb.

From the Lawson MS.

p. 359

Lawson MS. (Cap. xliii.) Leaf missing.

(Cap. xliv.) By a plain oblong tomb kneels a man with a crutch, in lay costume; at one end sits a monk reading. Over the tomb a burning lamp is hanging in a Norman building.

When Bishop Eadbert died at Lindisfarne, soon after the exhumation of Cuthbert, they placed his body in the saint's tomb, over the chest in which they had deposited the uncorrupted body, where in Bede's time miraculous signs ceased not to be manifested. (*Bede* xliii. *Vit. Anon.* iv. 44.)

This panel appears to be meant for the first tomb, with Eadbert above and Cuthbert below. The apertures for creeping through or putting limbs through to the sacred body within are a regular feature in shrines of this sort. They are very clearly represented in painted glass in the windows of the chapel of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, where the artist seems to have copied from the original shrine of Becket, even to the colours and peculiar markings of the marble, which now forms the pavement of the site, several pieces of which, if not all, have evidently formed a structure such as is represented in the windows. For St. Alban's shrine, lately reconstructed, see Mr. Micklethwaite's account, etc., in *Archæological Journal*, and on St. William's and other shrines, *S. W. W.* 255. For Becket's, Stanley's *Canterbury*, 4th ed. p. 297.

The MSS. have the following illustrations of other miracles belonging to this period :—A paralytic healed by having one of Cuthbert's boots put on. (Both MSS.) Felgeld healed of a tumour by a calf's hide with which Cuthbert had stopped a hole in his cell. (Oxf.) Baduthegn healed of a palsy at the tomb (Both : in Lawson, St. Cuthbert's hand is issuing forth to touch him; Oxf. has two lamps suspended over tomb with roof and gable-crosses; Lawson, one lamp, burning, over plain tomb). A certain youth cured of a swelled eyelid by hair of St. Cuthbert, taken from a reliquary. (Both.) St. Cuthbert appearing to King Alfred in the guise of a pilgrim. (Oxf.) The attempt to carry the feretory over to Ireland, when three waves were turned into blood. (Oxf.) The Pagan Onlafbal sticking fast on the threshold of St. Cuthbert's Church at Durham. (Oxf.) An army of Scots swallowed up like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. (Oxf.) Earl Tosti's servant Barcuith struck dead on his attempting to violate the sanctuary. (Oxf.) The sea allowing the bearers of the feretory

to pass over to Lindisfarne dry-shod. (Oxf.) A sacrilegious Norman perishing miserably. (Oxf. See p. 341.)

84. ENSHRINEMENT.

(Now 15.) At the west side of the panel is seen the end of a feretory, not very richly ornamented. In it is a door, which a tonsured figure in white is opening with a key. Behind him is something like a body wrapped in white cloth figured with gold, borne by means of two poles on the shoulders of four blue monks. Standing by are a tonsured figure in white, with mouth open as if singing, and two men conversing, one in a small yellow cap, and the other in a large green cap and red tunic. On the floor, below the body, something like a bed with a white rug upon it.

Background, blue.

Torre, 88 (12). "In 2^d light is a priest habited A., kneeling at his devotions before a church; behind him also a woman kneels in white habit, & 3 other men, one habited B., another gu."

This must be one of the translations, but which, it is not easy to say. Probably the last, in 1104, after the investigation which arose out of the incredulity of Bishop Flambard and others, when the most incredulous confessed that they were satisfied, and *Te Deum* was chanted accordingly. See the "Historica Narratio," Boll. 138, and Reginald, cap. xl. —xliii., translated in Raine, 75—94, and in Eyre, 149—175. The feast of the Translation of St. Cuthbert on the 4th of September commemorated the translation by Bishop Baldhune of the Saint's body from the "White Church" to the "Great Church," the predecessor of the present Cathedral, Sept. 4, A.D. 999. (See Eyre, p. 141).

85. SICK HEALED AT SHRINE.

(Now 11.) A much mutilated tomb with arched openings (see No. 83), at which are remains of two kneeling figures in pink-purple. At one end stands a blue monk; at the other approach three lay-folk, one in pink-purple, with yellow girdle and pale blue cap, another in blue, with yellow hair, bare-headed, and a third with bald head and anxious expression of countenance. On the tomb stands a very fine gold fere-

tory, with roof cresting, crockets, and finials, all very rich, as also the roof itself, which is covered with ornamental panelling of lozenge pattern, with roses at the intersections. The visible side consists of three enriched ogee-headed panels or niches, between which are buttresses ending in tall pinnacles. The panels are occupied by figures of saints, viz. : a crowned and nimbed figure with book in left hand and sceptre in right ; a mitred and nimbed figure with crosier and cope ; a crowned and nimbed figure with sceptre and ermine tippet. The end panel seems to have a figure in it, but it is too much shattered and leaded to be seen clearly. Attached to this end is a small altar with white cloth on it, as in S. W. W. frequently. (See Plates, S. W. W. pp. 303, 318.)

Background, red.

Torre, 91 (15). "In 5th light is a church & 3 men standing about it, 2 being habited B. and one sanguine."

Doubtless meant for the last shrine, of which we have a full account in the "Rites of Durham." It was "a fair and sumptuous shrine," "of fine and costly [green H.¹¹ 45, and *Dav.*¹²] marble, all limned and gilded with gold, havinge foure seates or places convenient under the shrine for the pilgrims or lame men sittinge on their knees to leane and rest on, in time of their devout offeringes and fervent prayers to God and holy Saint Cuthbert for his miraculous reliefe and succour." At the west end "was a little altar adjoynd to it, for masse to be said on, only uppon the great and holy feast of Saint Cuthbert's day in Lent." There was a cover to the shrine, drawn up on particular occasions, "all gilded over ; and of eyther syde was painted foure lively images, curious to the beholders ; and on the east end was painted the picture of our Saviour sittinge on a rainbowe to geive judgment, very lively to the beholders ; and on the west end of itt was the picture of our Lady, and our Saviour on her knee. And on the topp of the cover, from end to end, was most fine [brattishing of Ed. H.¹³] carved worke, cutt owte with dragons and other beasts, most artificially wrought, and the inside was vernished with a fyne sanguine

¹¹ Hunter MS.

¹² Davies's edition.

¹³ Hunter's edition.

colour that itt might be more perspicuous to the behoulders ; and att every corner of the cover was a locke to keepe itt close, but att such tymes as was fitt to shew itt, H. 45] that the beholders might see the glorye and ornaments thereof." *Rites*, Surtees Soc. vol. 15, p. 4.

The shrine represented in this panel is of the same form as those in the St. William window, but is more elaborate in its details, and of a rich golden colour,—though there are some points of correspondence between the description of the cover of the Durham shrine and this representation, it is probably for the most part ideal. The figures on the sides however, may be recollections brought away after some visit of the artist to Durham. A blue monk is the feretrar or shrine-keeper or his clerk showing the shrine to strangers. The office of the former was, that when any man of honour or worship came to pray or offer at the shrine and requested to see it, " then straightway the clerk of the feretory . . . did give intelligence to his master, the keeper of the feretory. And then the said master did bring the keys of the shrine with him, giving them to the clerk to open the locks of the shrine." (See No. 84.) *Rites*, p. 5.

The shrine of St. Cuthbert was a fixed or "standing" shrine, not a feretory properly so called. The feretory of St. Bede was carried in processions (*Rites*, p. 88), but not St. Cuthbert's.

One of the most perfect shrines now remaining is that of St. Sebald at Nuremberg, of which there is a full-sized model at the South Kensington Museum. See Pugin's Glossary, s. v. *Shrine*, and the same s. v. *Feretory*.

Canopies, 81—85. 81 and 85 are not original, but have come from some other window. The others have each about ten delicate white spirelets and a low-crowned arch, in fact an almost horizontal row of archlets forming the upper margin of the panel, and not like those in S. W. W. with a wide arch and a coloured interior distinct from the panel-background below, and the tabernacle-background above.

Panel-canopies. Each panel which does not come in a top row and so under one of the canopies already described, has a distinct canopy of its own. In the St. William window these are quite rudimentary, or can scarcely be said to exist (see Engravings, S. W. W., pp. 303, 309) ; whereas in the

St. Cuthbert window there seem to have been at least eight different patterns of these originally, probably more. They consist of different combinations of archlets, pendants, etc., drawn with much spirit and freedom, shewing projections in the form of oriel windows, etc. In one pattern lions in yellow stain are introduced.

III. TRACERY-LIGHTS.

None of the original glazing of these remains; they are filled with harlequin glaziers' work of blue and modern streaked ruby such as Peckitt made, more of which may be seen in a curious window in St. Martin-cum-Gregory Church, Micklegate, designed by his widow and doubtless constructed of glass which he left in stock. The date 1775 is inserted in the glazing of the St. Cuthbert window tracery.

Several of the upper lights remained in Torre's time, and his descriptions, which here follow, are the only means we have of knowing what they were. Gent says, "The tracery of this large window is much the same in the highest Article as that North of the Altar¹⁴; the rest are saints, &c. as indeed are almost numberless are the small Figures in the Arches of the Windows through the whole Church." Hist. of York, 1730, 155.

Torre, 12-14 (86-88). "3^d Row. In the next lower row were 10 images, viz. :—

12, 13, 14. "The first, 2^d & 3^d out, & filled with white glass.

15 (89). "In 4th stands a queen, robed B., crowned O., having a book open in her right & and a crosyer staff in her left hand."

Probably St. Etheldreda.

16 (90). "In 5th stands a royall young saint, robed gu., scepter & crown O., glory A."

17 (91). "In 6th stands a female saint, robed purple, skirts V^t, glory A., and a white dove hovers at her mouth."

Probably St. Oswald, with the dove or raven bringing chrismatory and letter, or ring.

18 (92). "In 7th stands another female saint habited B., hood sab., glory O., holding in one hand a crosyer staff O., & in the other a book shut A."

¹⁴ The St. William window.

Probably the abbess Ælfede. See Nos. 58, 59, 60, 61.

19 (93). "In 8th stands a youthfull saint robed gu., glory A., wth a book open at his breast, and a naked sword run through his throat."

Perhaps St. Alban, protomartyr of Britain.

20 (94). "In 9th is a female saint habited B., glory A., wth a sword run through her breast.

21 (95). "In 10th another saint robed B. & purple, glory A., wth a book open in his hand."

"Below the last are 6 in a row, viz. :—

1st & 2nd (96, 97). "The first & 2nd filled wth white glass.

3 (98). "In 3^d stands a saint, robed B. & V^t., glory O.

4 (99). "In 4th another saint, robed murry & B., glory A.

5 (100). "In 5th another saint robed gu., having a book open before him."

Probably St. Jerome, patron of sacred learning.

"6 (101). In 6th sits St. Katherine, robed B., crowned O., glory A., wth a golden wheel by her."

Patroness of secular learning.

"In the upper row are these 4 images, viz. :—

"2, 5 (102, 105). In 1st and last stands an angell robed A., winged B., glory O."

"3 (103). In 2^d is a church, and a young king sitting by it robed purple, mantle erm., crowned O."

Doubtless Eadwine king of Northumbria, founder of York Minster.

"4 (104). In 3^d sits an old king, robed purple & A., crowned O."

Torre's notes, which we have taken from below upward, begin thus :—

"St. Cross window"¹⁵ or St. Cuthbert's."

The 4th window in the south quire is the cross window, and contains 5 lights.

"1 (105). The top of all is of white glass."¹⁶

We have now pursued the whole series of subjects in this remarkable window, in what we may conceive to have been something like their original order. And notwithstanding the grievously mutilated condition in which most

¹⁵ The south window of the eastern transept.

¹⁶ Torre's *York Minster* MS., p. 85.

of the panels now are, we have found much that is full of historical and artistic interest, and particularly so in connection with the consecutive narrative of Bede, and with other pictorial illustrations of the same biography. In the lower compartments we have noted the costumes and surroundings of kings, prelates, and nobles, themselves grouped round the grand central figure of St. Cuthbert, with the head of St. Oswald in his hand. In the main body of the window we have traced the history of the saint from his birth to his last shrine, and in so doing have seen him as an infant, as a boy of noble birth, as a young man forsaking the world, as a monk, as a bishop, and as a saint enshrined.

In the many and varied scenes which have been brought before us, we have observed the various costumes of layfolk, whether men, women, or children; of monks and nuns; of bishops and other clerics. And these representations, though more or less idealized, or modified in accordance with the nature of the material in which they are executed, fairly reproduce what we know to have been the costumes of the period in which the window was designed. As the Benedictine habit could not be shewn black in glass of this kind, a beautiful light blue has been adopted, with much better effect, as the writer considers, than the dark purple employed in the same way in some ancient and in most modern windows. We have seen angels and fiends, beasts of the earth, fowls of the air, and fishes of the sea, trees and flowers, introduced in various ways. Some of the most peculiar or otherwise note-worthy matters will be found by the following references :—

Albe, and apparels, Nos. 8, 21. Almuze, 12, 70. Anchor, 18, 27, 51. Altar at shrine, 85, portable, 74. Angels, 25, 26, 33, 51, 66, 72, 81. Armour, 2, 67. Aureole, 26. Banquets, 33, 72, 75. Barrel, 14. Basin, 23, 64. Baskets, 14?, 53, 55, 64. Battle, 67. Beds, 11, 26, 34, 64, 68, 70, 79, 80, 81, 84. Bier, 73. Birds, 21, 31, 38, 53, 54, 56, 57. Blackbird, 21. Boat, 19. Books, lower panels and, 12, 16, 21, 26, 34, 37, 47, 81. Boots, 14, 57, 77. Boys' sports, 22. Brass pots, 78. Bread, 29, 33, 42?, 64, 68, 70. Buildings, 11, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 44, 47, 51, 54, 57, 60, 66, 76, 77, 83. Cabin, 55. Canopies, after 10, 35, 60, 85. Cardinal's hat, 2, 4, 5. Cauls, 11, 13. Chain-

armour, 2. Chairs, 25, 33, 47, 48, 49, 66, 77, 81, Appendix, p. 373. Chalice, 81, 82. Chrisom ? 12. Ciborium, 29, 81, 82. Coffin, 74. Coffin, 19, 82. Coins, 63. Compasses, 51. Corrok, 19. Cow, 17. Crossbow, 67. Cross buns, 33, 72. Cross-staves, 1, 4, 62. Crows, 56, 57. Crutch staff, 38, etc. Crutches, 63, 83. Cups, 33, 72, 75. Daisies, 57. Dalmatic, 8, etc.—see tunic. Dog, 36. Earth opening, 40. Fat, piece of, 57. Fiends, 44, 50, 51, 80. Fishes, 37, 38. Flowers, 13, 17, 21, 26, 29, 32, 37, 38, 39, 48, 55, 57, 58, 71. Font, 12. Gateway, 24. Gauntlets, 2. Gems, 8 n. Girdle, 58. Glove, 8. Goose, 78. Hangings, lower panels and, 33, 68, 72, 74, 75, 80. Hat, 14, 63. Head of St. Oswald, 8. Headcloth, 17, 19, 61. Hockey stick, 22. Holy water appliances, 42, 69, 70. Holy well, 23. Horned head-dress, 11, 12, 40. Horses, 24, 28, 29, 42. Hurdles, 13, 28. Inscriptions, lower panels and 14 ; pp. 373, 374. Investiture, 61. Jackdaws, p. 375. Jewel on glove, 8. Key, 84. Knives, 33, 38, 72. Ladder, 44. Lamp, 83. Leggings, 77. Letters on tunic, 21, 75. Light from heaven, 11, 23. Long settle, 47. Mace, 61. Maundy, 77. Midwife, 12. Morse, 70. Orphreys, 2, 4, 8. Osprey, 37, 38. Otters, 39. Oven, 33. Pail, 70. Pallium, 1, 4, 62. Parchment roll, 79. Pick-axe, 23. Plank, 55. Pocket, 14, 29. Portable altar, 74. Portcullis, 24, 56. Posts and rails, 53. Poultice, 25. Prior's staff, 38, etc. Psalter, 14. Pulpit, 36. Quoit, 22. Rafts, 27. Red sandstone, 57. Rocks, 13, 19, 23, 37, 54, 57. Rowing, 27. Saddle, etc., 24, 29, 32. Saints, with emblems, in tracery-lights, p. 363. Saucer, 70. Sceptre, 61, 62, 85. Scroll, 66. Sea anemones, 76. Seals, 39. Sheep, 14, 22, 26. Sheet, 82. Shells, 27. Ships, 27, 59, 76. Shoes, 8. Shrines, 83, 84, 85. Souls taken up, 26, 72, 81. Sowing corn, 53. Spades, 23, 53, 57. Spears, 32, 67. Sprinkler, 42, 64. Square, 51. Starfishes, 19, 76. Stole, 26, 42. Superaltar, 74. Surplice, 12, 26, 70. Tables, 33. Taper, 12. Thistle, 57. Tomb, 82, 83. Trees, 13, 14, 17, 23, 32, 37, 41, 45, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 73, 77, 82. Tub, 44. Tumour on foot, 77. Washing on Maundy Thursday, 77. Well, holy, 23 ; Roman, 67, Windmill, 17.

As regards the style in which the window is executed, it is, for the general, sufficient to say that it possesses the fea-

tures of a work of towards the middle of the 15th century, to which period, indeed, we have other reasons for assigning it. See p. 273. Though closely resembling the St. William window, it bears marks of being, distinctly, later in execution. Thus, the general effect, independently of the greater brilliancy produced by a southern aspect, is decidedly brighter and more sparkling; due, partly to the preponderance of red (warm) background instead of blue (cool), and partly to the gaiety and liveliness imparted by a freer use of those intermediate tints which are so characteristic of later 15th century glass-paintings. The red is of the same even texture and rich, full, bright-scarlet hue. The blue is similar, but being lighted better, looks brighter, and has a fine reposeful effect in the draperies, for which it is used rather extensively, being employed, as just mentioned, to represent the black Benedictine habit in which so many figures appear. The yellow pot-metal is a rich clear colour. The yellow stain, used freely throughout on the white glass for imparting richness and emphasizing details, is also used in several places for breaking and ranging the tint of the blue, which takes the stain remarkably well. The green is of a particularly pure, rich, soft, full, pleasing hue, like that of a May pasture after rain. The light-pink, or rose-coloured pot-metal, of great delicacy, and a gold stain, sparingly—but most effectively—used, must be distinguished from the commoner red-purple manganese stain, which though often a fine colour, is never entirely free from inkiness or dullness. Answering to this greater delicacy and breadth of colouring, is a more refined and finished execution. The figure drawing is, technically, just sufficiently superior to be interesting on comparing the two windows. The attitudes are easy and natural for a work of this period, and the faces are many of them remarkably expressive. There is a greater fulness of detail without confusion; and a sensibly riper and more juicy shading, imparting greater finish, more rotundity, and higher relief, without opacity. The folds of the draperies are disposed simply and naturally. The foliage of the trees and the herbage which strews the ground are in many places particularly pleasing, notwithstanding the quaintness (or license, for the sake of obtaining the necessary effect of colour) in the former of representing the leaves and branches red, blue, etc., and in the latter of making the leafing and

flowering of the various ornamental plants wholly conventional and ideal. Nothing can surpass the rich gem-like effect of, for instance, the little pot-metal sparkling ruby flowers set in the midst of the clumps of green or yellow leafage. Such details, of which a thousand might be specified, point to a period when art was naturalized, and the poetry of colour perceived intuitively. "Art was in them incarnate and self-existing," to use the remarkable language of Paracelsus, "so that they needed not learn it from any man, but were so by nature, even as roses and other flowers."

The two coloured illustrations are reduced from tracings made by Mr. Knowles of York from the original glass. More suitable panels might perhaps have been chosen, but the expense of scaffolding, which had to be erected on purpose, was so great that it was necessary to take panels as low down as possible.

The woodcuts have been referred to elsewhere (p. 256).

I have now to express my obligations to the Dean and Chapter of York, and to their clerk of the works, for facilities granted in several ascents to the stone bridge over the eastern transept, from which alone, and by the aid of a good glass, the details of the window can be studied in a satisfactory way; to Canon Raine, in particular, for the use of the wood-blocks originally cut for his father's "St. Cuthbert;" to Mr. R. H. Skaife, for a careful transcript of Torre's notes; to the Master and Fellows of University College, Oxford, and to Sir John Lawson, Bart., for the loan of the valuable MSS., of which I have made such extensive use.

APPENDIX.

PRESUMED ORIGINAL ORDER.

In this list the subjects are named as they occur in the foregoing pages :—

	No.	Page		No.	Page
Abp. Bowet . . .	1	258	Starting for Melrose .	28	290
Card. Beaufort . .	2	259	Horse and Bread . .	29	290
Duke Humphrey . .	3	259	[Dividing loaf] . .	30	292
Card. Kemp . . .	4	266			
Card. Longley . . .	5	260	[Giving up horse] . .	31	292
			Reception at Melrose .	32	292
Henry V.	6	261	Entertaining Angel . .	33	296
Henry VI.	7	261	Boisil's prophecy . .	34	299
ST. CUTHBERT . . .	8	262	Provost of Melrose . .	35	301
John of Gaunt . . .	9	263			
Henry IV.	10	263	Preaching	36	301
			Receiving fish	37	302
Birth	11	274	Dividing fish	38	303
Baptism	12	275	Praying in sea	39	305
With Mother	13	276	Falsely accused	40	306
Learning Psalter . .	14	277			
[Losing Psalter] . .	15	278	Met by Hildmer	41	309
			Sending holy water . .	42	309
[Psalter restored] . .	16	278	[Hildmer's wife] . . .	43	310
Commended to Guar-			Phantom fire	44	311
dian	17	279	Journey	45	312
[Vision of house] . .	18	280			
Embarcation	19	280	Journey	46	313
[Commended to St. Col-			Delivering Rule	47	313
umba]	20	281	Instructing	48	314
			In Chapter	49	317
With St. Columba . .	21	281	Expelling demons . . .	50	317
Layks and Plays . . .	22	282			
Holy Well	23	284	Building cell	51	318
Angel on horse . . .	24	285	With monks	52	320
Curing Knee	25	286	Sowing corn	53	320
			Rebuking birds	54	321
Death of St. Aidan . .	26	287	Seaborne plank	55	322
Helping Ships	27	288			

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	No.	Page		No.	Page
Rebuking crows . .	56	323	Ælfede's table . .	72	339
Crows' submission . .	57	324	Confirming? . .	73	343
Girdle sent . .	58	325	Preparation for Mass .	74	344
Voyage to Coquet . .	59	327	Water to wine . .	75	345
[Ælfede's questions] .	60	328			
Investiture . .	61	328	Voyage to Farne . .	76	346
Consecration . .	62	332	Washing feet . .	77	347
Alms-deeds . .	63	333	Cooking goose . .	78	349
Works of Mercy . .	64	333	Last illness . .	79	350
Earl Sibba's servant .	65	334	Vexed by demons . .	80	351
Angel and scroll . .	66	335	Death-bed . .	81	352
Ecgrith's death . .	67	335	Verca's sheet . .	82	355
Hildmer healed . .	68	336	First tomb . .	83	356
[Sending holy-water] .	69	337	Enshrinement . .	84	360
Heunna's wife . .	70	338	Sick healed . .	85	360
Dying child . .	71	338	Saints, etc. . .	86—105	363

PRESENT ORDER.

The following list of subjects begins with the lowest row, counting each row from left to right. In the first column the present order is given; in the others, the presumed original order, the pages at which the descriptions may be found, and the order in Torre's and Gent's notes, so far as it can be ascertained.¹⁷

Present Order.	Presumed original order.	Torre.	Gent.	Page.
1. Abp. Bowet	1	1		258
2. Card. Beaufort	2	2		259
3. Duke Humphrey	3	3		259
4. Card. Longley	5	4		260
5. Card. Kemp	4	5		260
6. Henry V.	6	6?		261
7. Henry VI.	7	7?	6	261
8. ST. CUTHBERT	8	8	8	262
9. John of Gaunt	9	10		263
10. Henry IV.	10	9	10	263

¹⁷ These are here numbered from below upwards, so as to shew their correspondence with the present order.

ON THE ST. CUTHBERT WINDOW IN YORK MINSTER. 371

Present Order.	Presumed original order.	Torre.	Gent.	Page.
TRANSOM.				
11. Last shrine	85	15		360
12. Vision at Ælfede's?	72	21		339
13. Cooking goose?	78			349
14. Fire put out	44	53		311
15. Enshrinement	84	12		360
16. Healing Heunna's wife	70	23	16	338
17. Healing dying child	71	17		338
18. Turning water to wine	75	18		345
19. Vexed by demons	80	19		351
20. Blessing some one	79			350
21. With St. Columba	21			281
22. Almsgiving	63	29		333
23. Body wrapped in sheet	82			355
24. Falsely accused	40	31		306
25. Vision of Ecgfrith's death . .	67			335
26. Herefrid at death bed	81			352
27. In Farne with three monks . .	52	47		320
28. [Woman before judge]				373
29. Private celebration of mass . .	74			344
30. Healing sick	65	35		334
31. About to send holy-water . . .	42			309
32. Remonstrating with L. monk . .	49	26		317
33. Investiture by Ecgfrith	61	33		328
34. The first tomb	83	20		356
35. Works of mercy	64			333
TRANSOM.				
36.)		36	36	
37.)		37	37	
38.) Blank		38	38	
39.)		39	39	
40.)		40	40	
41. Starting for Melrose?	28	45		290
42. Sharing fish with eagle	38	52		303
43. Reception at Melrose	32	74		292
44. [St. Catharine]				373
45. Healing a boy?	73	85		343
46. Consecration	62			332
47. Summoned by Hildmer	41	60		309

372 ON THE ST. CUTHBERT WINDOW IN YORK MINSTER.

Present Order.	Presumed original order.	Torre.	Gent.	Page.
48. Sowing corn	53	41		320
49. Holy well	23			284
50. Angel and scroll	66	65		335
51. Receiving the fish	37	59	51	302
52. Journey with monks and lay- man	45	58	52	312
53. [Cinque-cento panel]		55	53	373
54. Preaching in pulpit	36		54	301
55. With two monks on journey	46	56	55	313
56. Voyage to Coquet	59	57	56	327
57. Angel and compasses	51	46		318
58. Rebuking crows	56	43	58	323
59. Horse pulling down bread	29	68		290
60. [Cinque-cento panel]		50		374
TRANSOM.				
61. Learning Psalter	14	75		277
62. Feet washed	77			347
63. Layks and plays	22	80	63	282
64. Instructing monks and laics	48	67		314
65. Vision of St. Aidan's death	26	64	65	287
66. Last voyage to Farne	76	78		346
67. Expelling demons	50	49	67	317
68. Crow begging pardon	57		68	324
69. Embarcation in stone boat	19	69		280
70. Baptism	12	79		275
71. Sick healed by bread	68	54	71	336
72. Boisil's dying words	34	81	72	299
73. Angel curing leg	25	73	73	286
74. Discussing Rule	47	42	74	313
75. Committed to great man	17			279
76. Entertaining Angel	33	72		296
77. Angel on white horse	24	71		285
78. Praying in the sea	39	70		305
79. [Invocation of St. William]			76	374
80. Birth	11	8		274
81. With mother in field	13			276
82. Girdle brought to Ælfede	58	45	82	325
83. Driving birds from corn	54	51		321
84. Building with plank	55	48		322
85. Ships brought to land	27		85	288

The following panels appear not to have originally belonged to the window.

28. On a bench or chair with overhanging back sits a man in blue robe, red tippet, and red cap, with long hair and beard, bending a little forward and holding the tips of his fingers together, as if laying down the law to a rather young woman in blue gown with white fur cuff, red tippet and white head-dress, with her hands held out separately and in an attitude of attention. Figures of men behind, one in white figured tunic buttoned up the front, and with a jewelled chaplet on his head. The canopy is like those in S. W. W., to the character of which the whole panel bears a strong resemblance. There is a very similar canopied chair in the same window, panel 52, p. 268.

Background, blue.

Torre. Not identified.

It apparently represents some judicial proceeding, and is doubtless an importation from some other window.

44. A mutilated panel containing St. Catharine crowned and nimbed, with wheel in left hand and sword in right. Before her, lying on a fringed cushion of figured white, is a book inscribed *Domine labia mea aperies Et os mea annūcia dē tuā*, the rest mutilated. The rest is wholly made up of fragments, *e.g.*, portion of man in almuce. Scroll with *glia in excelsis* in small black letter. Fragment with *locut⁹ est* in larger characters.

Background, red. (No canopy.)

Torre. Not identified.

Doubtless brought from some other window like the St. Agnes described by Torre (see below), which latter is now gone.

53. A cinque-cento panel in which is represented a man in light purple gown, and black cap, with yellow hair, holding a book on his knee with his left hand and pointing to it with his right. Before him a little boy in green stands as if learning his lesson. A lady is standing by and looking on. Cinque-cento detail around.

Torre, 56 (55). "In 5th light is an altar O. & A. wth a book upon it, clasped, before it sits a doctor, habited purple, crined O., cap sab. wth a book open on his knee; by him stands a lady habited V^t. & B., leading a little boy by the hand habited V^t."

60. A cinque-cento panel in which are two female figures apparently disembarking from a ship, also a boy or youth in blue, laying a plank across to the shore for them to walk on. The sea in the background. An elegant canopy-pillar on either side, and an ornamental pavement.

Torre, 61 (50). "In 5th light stands upon certain steps a queen robed A., murry & B., and a king by her crowned A. & O. Behind them is a golden ship wth one mast & sayl & a woman and a monk therein, she being habited V^t., bare breasted, taking hold of the mast; he habited B., casting over-board a long square box O."

79. At a desk with white cover diapered yellow, on which lies an open book with conventional lines, kneels a tonsured or perhaps bald man in white (surplice?) and over it a blue (cope?) lined and hooded red. In his hand he holds a scroll with *See Willm^e ora p . . . ata robe(rti)*. Canopy quite different from the rest in this or in S. W. W.

Background, red.

Torre. Not identified.

It is not clear whether the man be a layman or an ecclesiastic, but it is quite evident that the panel is an insertion.

The following descriptions in *Torre's MS.* have not yet been identified with anything now remaining in the window.

"2^d Row. 27 (76). In 2^d under row and in the first light is a church and a bp. standing wth his back on it habited B., mantle purple, myter O.; before him stands a fair lady habited B., and a monk habited gu., hood V^t."

"28 (77). In 2^d light stand two white monks giving something to the other."

"4th Row. 37 (66). In 4th row & in the first light sits St. Cuthbert in a white chair, habited B., before whom stands a king robed A., crowned O., and a monk habited B., also 2 nuns, one of w^{ch} being habited purple, mantle V^t., vayed O. Besides, another monk sits at the bp.'s feet,

habited gu., cap Vt., between two other nuns, one habited A., the other B., on whose knee the monk leans his head.

"5th Row. 42 (61). In the 5th under row & in the first light is a church, & a bp. standing by it, habited B., crosyer O. Behind him stand 2 monks habited B., & before him a noble man, habited A., powdered O., leggs gu., reverently bowing to the s^d bp. Behind the last stands a nun habited B., hood O., vayl Vt.

"44 (63). In 3^d light is a ship wth 2 masts, under sayl, & 3 monks therein, the 1st habited B., cap gu., 2^d gu., 3^d Vt., and 2 women kneeling at the helm, one habited A., the other gu., hair O., glory A.

"74 (28). In 3^d light sits an abp. enthroned, robed purple, pall A., myter & crosyer O. On each side kneels another bp., one habited gu., the other B., both cross-staves O.

"80 (24). See above. No. 69, p. 337.

"81 (25). Not plain.

"87 (11). In 5th row & first light sits an old man habited B. & murry, cap B., wth a book lying open on his knee; before him kneels another man habited B.; and behind him kneel 3 or 4 women, one whereof being habited & hooded B., another habited A.

"89 (13). In 3^d light lyes a king in bed, covered B., & sev^{all} persons stand about him.

"90 (14). Not plain."

25 (84). Is not described at all by Torre.

"68 (32). In 2^d light sits a woman in a golden chair habited sanguine, holding a book in her hand; on one side stands an executioner, habit & leggs B., running a sword into her throat; behind her stands an old monk, habit & cap B., hood Vt."

Probably the passion of St. Agnes, brought from some other window.

POSTSCRIPT.

Page 306. The original monastery was on the Head itself, not at the village of Coldingham, the site of the later foundation. There is a little inlet of the sea just at the north side of the Head, exactly suited for St. Cuthbert's midnight orisons. In a recent hasty visit to the place, I saw no other spot where he could well have got into the water, so high and precipitous are the rocks.

„ 319. In an illuminated MS. of the French paraphrase of the Bible by Guiars de Moulins, of the

13th century, in the collection of Thomas Brooke, Esq., F.S.A., a Vice-President of this Association, the Creator is represented as a human figure with plain nimbus, applying a pair of compasses to a blue sphere. The same idea is introduced by Milton, in Par. L. vii. 221—231, and adopted in the extraordinary frontispiece to Comber's "Companion to the Temple," Lond. fo. 1684.

Page 324. The fishermen say that crows are never seen on the Farne islands now. Jackdaws, however, abound, building in the crevices of the rocks, and robbing the sea-fowl of their eggs and young ones.

„ 336. Carlisle is the *Luguvallium* of the Romans, a station on the great Roman Wall, which, from Bede's account, appears to have been in a tolerably perfect condition in his time. There were doubtless many such remarkable buildings, walls, and gateways, as may even now be seen in ruins at some of the stations, at the time of St. Cuthbert's visit. It is remarkable that Dr. Stukely, writing in 1725, speaks of "several square wells of Roman workmanship."

„ 351. Compare "Pilgrim's Progress," part ii., near the beginning, where Christiana has a dream in which her sins are brought before her.

"After this she thought she saw two very ill-favoured ones standing by her bed-side, and saying, What shall we do with this woman? for she cries out for mercy waking and sleeping; if she be suffered to go on as she begins, we shall lose her as we have lost her husband."

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE

REV. THOMAS BROUGHTON.¹

(Communicated by CHARLES JACKSON, Doncaster.)

Præ. in vita
Fr[ancisci] Ju[nii].

Fr[anciscus] Junius² wrote his own life himself, in which he avers to shew God's mercy in the various passages of his miserable life (as he terms it). Without making comparison of my unworthy self to that worthy and learned man (any otherwise than because I have been tossed up and down, and led a life as obnoxious to miseryes as his was all his life), I shall, in imitation of him, it beeing no pressumption to imitate the best, seeing, though I follow him, 'tis like to be at so great a distance as none will imagine, I dream of beeing like him in the lest, say what I know trew of myself.

I was born at Bentley, near Doncaster, a noted corporation in Yorkshire, where my father, Th. Broughton, was preacher for about seven yeares ; soon after, beeing a child, in the year 1634, I was carryed to Chilford³ (in Suffolk, near the burrow of Orford, twelve miles beyond Ipswich), to the rectory of which my father being presented betook himself from all his kindred and native soyle, with my mother and three of my sisters. My mother would usually say she had prayed to God, and ment to use all meanes she could y^t I might be brought up a scholar, and as all her life she desired it of God, she was not unmindful to blesse Him at her death,

¹ Taken, by permission, from a MS. in the possession of the Rev. Canon Raine, M.A., York.

² Franciscus Junius, or Franc Juanus or Dujon, was born at Bourges, May 1, 1545, and studied the law there; and having embraced Protestantism he retired to Geneva, where he professed the learned languages and divinity, and coming into the Low Countries, he was minister of the French church at Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Limburg, and elsewhere, till, in

1592, he was chosen Professor of Divinity at Leyden, where he died of the plague October 13th, 1602, being 57 years of age. He translated the Bible into Latin, with Tremellius, and wrote Commentaries upon Genesis, the Book of Psalms, Ezekiel, Gospel of St. Matthew, &c. : also a Treatise against Pope Gregory XIII., and another against Cardinal Bellarmine.

³ Chillesford, a parish in the eastern division of Suffolk, 3 miles W.N.W. from Orford.

above any thing of this world, y^t she had lived to see me a sonn of the church, as she wrote a litle before her death, in w^h she nearly resembled Monica, S. Augustin's mother, who desired above all to se one thing *ut catholicum xtianum te viderem*, but of this she gave litle appearance of hope of any such thing.

I was educated with my father and mother for the space of seven yeares at Chilford, in Suffolk, and by them taught all I there learned, save that for the space of one yeare I was at a schole at Orford, under one Mr. Dodson, fellow collegian with my father in Christ colledge;⁴ with him I learned in that year my Latin grammar, Virgill's ten eclogues, which was the first book I read after my grammar, and now and then some of Esop's fables, Terentes Comedy, Adelphi, and part of Ovid's Metamorphosis, Tully's Offices, &c.

In the year 1642 my father was sequestred, and in the year following ejected from his living, and betook himself with our family beeing then five children: three dyed in their infancy, one after another, at approach of the miserable times then about to come upon us, God in mercy taking them away as not able to undergo the misery we were better able to bear. At Orford, in an hired hous, I lived with our family till the year 1646, upon what of our housh [old] goods we had to sell, and what some good friends now and then gave us to keep us alive, my father being all the while a prisoner at Ipswich, in the county gaol, save when he had liberty to be at home he taught me Virgill's Georgics, first book onely, the scholmaster having left off to teach.

In the year 1646, all we ever had to live upon being neare spent in the four years excluded from all profit of his liveing, no visible appearance of any other than black stormes and clouds of misery that hung over the church, growing blacker and blacker every day, my father, mother, with us five children betook ourselves into Yorkshire, to our friends there at Bentley,⁵ in hopes to ride it out with more comfort; the onely friend there was Mr. Jerrey Wilbore,⁶ my mother's own

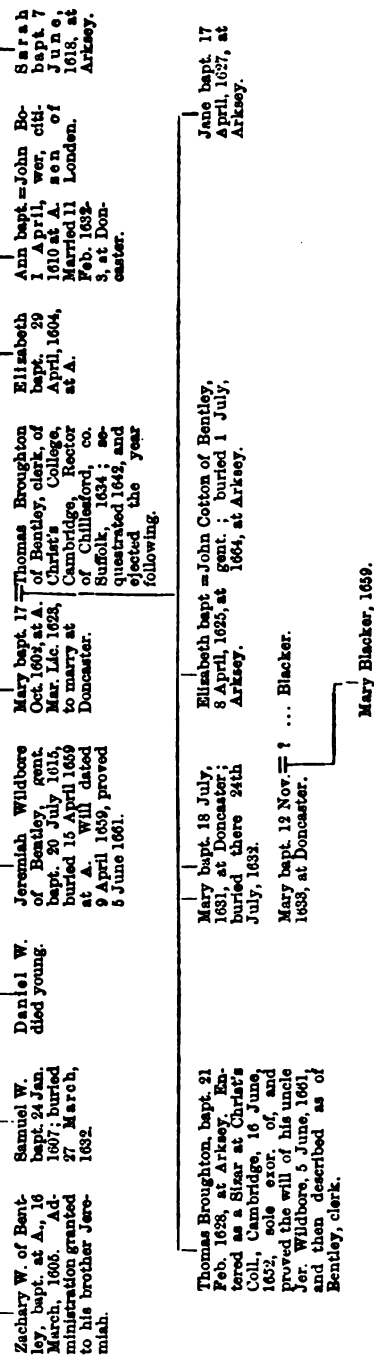
⁴ There is no record or notice of his admission after 1620, the earliest date extant of the admission books of this college.

⁵ A township in the parish of Arksey, about two miles from Doncaster.

⁶ 9 April, 1659. — Will of Jeremiah Wilbore, of Bentley, gent. — To my sister

Anne, wife of John Bower, citizen of London, a messuage, &c. in Bentley, in occupation of Gervas Bosvile, of Bentley, gent., for her life, — remainder to Thomas Broughton, son of Tho^s B., of Bentley, clerk, and to the heirs of his body, — remainder to my niece Elizabeth, wife of John Cotton, and to the heirs of her

ZACHARY WILDBORE=MARY JACKSON,
of Bentley, buried at Ark- married 16 Nov 1690,
sey, 28 Nov. 1634. Ad- at Arksey; living
ministration granted to his 1647.
widow.



brother, being a single man at 80^u p. ann. in estate. He received us, and after placed us in a house of his in the town, and there at Arksey I went another year to schole taught by Mr. Justice; under him I learnd my Greek grammar, eight chapters of Greek testament, some of Tulley, Justinus, Virgill and Ovid. I being then with my uncle, after this year was expired Mr. Justice gives over his schole. My father, the better to maintain himself and family, taught in the hous where he dwelt until O. Cromwell, the more to embitter the cup of affliction to him of which he had drunken so libraly, by a minister-destroying ordinance, as it was called, prohibited all sequestred ministers from service or teaching either publicly scholes or gentlemen's children in private houses. During the time he taught, I read Juvenal, Persius, Seneca's tragedies; when he left of I betook myself wholly to my uncle, went about his affairs to grounds, mercats, and husbandry; whenever I had time, and by nights I read over what I had learned, and mornings or nights got most of the skill in arithmetic out of books that I ever attained to.

And now, there appearing no hopes of times changing,

body;—rem. to the heirs of the body of Mary Blacker (under 21), grandchild of said Tho^a Broughton, clerk,—rem. to Godfrey Wilbore, of Bentley, clerk, his heirs and assigns for ever,—A messuage in Hallgate and Backstergate, Doncaster, to my niece Elizabeth, wife of John Cotton, and dau. of s^a Tho^a Broughton, clerk, and to the heirs of her body,—rem. to Mary Blacker afores^d,—rem. to Godfrey Wilbore aforesaid.—To my sister Mary, wife of y^a above Thomas Broughton, of Bentley, clerk,—for her life—the house, &c. in which the said Tho^a and Mary now live.—50s. to Mary Wilbore, widow, mother of the above Godfrey W.—Small legacies to Robert Wilbore, Edmond W., woollen-draper, and Ursula W., spinster, all of Bentley; also to Rob^t Wilbore, of Balne, gent.—All my lands, tenements, &c. in Doncaster (except before excepted) to my nephew Thomas Broughton, son of above-mentioned Tho^a Broughton, clerk, his heirs and ass. for ever.—If he duly carry out provisions of testator's will, then the residue of my lands, &c., at Bentley, to the said Thomas, and to the heirs of his body,—rem. to Elizabeth Etton,—rem. to Mary Blacker,—rem. to Godfrey Wilbore aforesaid, his heirs and assigns for ever.—

Said Tho^a Broughton sole executor. Supervisors, Robert Wilbore, of Balne, gent., Peter Burton, alderman of Doncaster, Godfrey Wilbore, of Bentley, clerk, and Robert Wilbore, of same place, mercer.

Proved 5 June, 1661, adm. to Tho^a Broughton, of Bentley, clerk, nephew of said deceased, the sole ex^r.—(From Mr. R. H. Skaife's collections. "1659. Jeremiah Wilbore of Bentley, gent., was buried April 15th."—(*Arksey register*.)

The Wildbores, or Wilbores, had a capital messuage "ad pedem pontis," near the foot of the bridge entering Doncaster from the north, and which is still standing. Mr. Jackson has in his possession a coat of arms, carved in stone, which once was over the doorway of a dove-cote in the garden there, and fell from its place a few years ago, viz., on a fess between two wild boars passant a trefoil; crest a boar's head erased. "Edmund Wildbore, 1690."

Hunter gives a few monumental inscriptions of the family in vol. i., *South Yorkshire*, 329. Some of the name were at Pontefract and Knottingley, of whom a short pedigree is given in Harl. MS. 4630, p. 709.

and all hopes of my becoming a scholar being taken away, my father considering how I grew up in years and had [no] more certain calling to follow all my life than we had place of abode, thought to put me an apprentice to a druggist in London to whom he was (?) uncl, but because he had not such a sum to give with me as that trade requires, he required to have me bound for ten years, to whom my uncle would by no means give way, neither were my parents other than sorrowfull I should be constrained to undergo so long an apprenticeship ; so I, still living with my uncle, and studdying such books as I knew the head scholars of Doncaster school learned, I continued till the year 1652, at which time the school-master of Doncaster, Mr. Mar[maduke] Cook,⁷ had made fit his two brothers and some four more for the University. My uncle was then in Doncaster the night before they were to take their journey towards Cambridge, and being to take his leave of one of them with whom he was acquainted, and congratulating his happiness that he was fit to become a scholar, one chanced to say, "if you are so much taken with scholars, make one of your cousin T. Broughton" (which was myself) ; he replyd I was not fit ; then he urged to send him as he is. Next day, he asked me if I durst venture to go to Cambridge, he would maintain me there, and after I embraced his prop[osal] w^t all thankfulness, as did my parents, endeavor was used to get me admitted under Mr. Ralph Widdington, then president of C. Coll., and University Orator. I stayed still with my

⁷ Robert Cooke, of Campsall (son of Hugh Cooke, of that place) and afterwards of Stainton, co. York, gent., had issue six sons, who were all clergymen ; of these one was Marmaduke Cooke, D.D., of Catherine-hall, Cambridge, some time the schoolmaster of Doncaster, rector of Kirk-Bramwith, 1660, and afterwards, 1663, vicar of Leeds, where he died in 1684, at the age of 59. Thoresby, who gives an imperfect pedigree (*Ducatus Leod.*, p. 72) states that he was born at Doncaster. In the register of Hooton-Pagnell, about 7 miles from Doncaster, occurs the baptism of Marmaduke, son of Robert Cooke, 13th Dec. 1625. He married, first, at Doncaster, 24th June, 1667, Mary Bladworth, who died in 1667. and secondly, 5th Jan. 1668, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Atkinson of Leeds, by both of whom he had issue. His brothers and sisters

were, Hugh Cooke, at Gray's-Inn 1637 and 1638, living 1661 ; William, LL.D., President of Jesus college, Cambridge, and Chancellor of the diocese of Ely, died 1707 ; Thomas, fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, died 1668 ; John, curate of Bramwith, master of the Free School, Gainsbro', and vicar of Beckingham, Notts ; Nathan, in holy orders at Bramwith, 1668 to 1670, died about 1684 ; Richard, M.A. of Jesus coll. Cambridge, died 1688 ; Dorothy, wife of . . . Maplebeck ; Jane ; Alice, wife of Thomas Wildbore of Cawood ; and Elizabeth, wife of George Pashley of Stainton. Thoresby, in whose museum was the original patent, says that the arms granted by Dugdale to Marmaduke Cooke and his brother William were, *arg. nt, on a fess azure, between three crescents gules, as many doves or.*

uncle and set hard to my Hebrew grammar, of which I knew nothing, for two months time studying that and Homer's Iliad. In January 13, 1652, I set forward towards Cambridge with my father, who delivering letters to my honoured tutor, I was admitted under him,⁸ and I ever accounted it one of the greatest pieces of content y^t it was my good hap to be pupill to such a tutour. By his meanes in one year's time I was admitted scholar of the house, which place found me my diet.

GENEALOGICAL NOTICES OF THE BROUGHTON FAMILY.

The name of Broughton is of long standing amongst the yeomanry of Arksey and Bentley. The following notes from monumental inscriptions may possibly be useful.

Here lyeth Isaac, the son of Thomas Broughton, who died March 21, 1693.

Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Broughton, and daughter of Richard Hall, who died in child-bed, and was buried the 22nd of February, 169 $\frac{7}{8}$, ætatis suæ 42.

Dorothy Broughton, April 4, 1706, aged 4th years.

Thomas Broughton, late of Bentley, January 11th 1708, Æt. 52. *Genitor vestigia pressit*,

James, the son of John Broughton, of Bentley, who died April 12, 1736, the youngest of 7 that's buried here. Also John Broughton, father of the above said children, June 12th . . . 7, in the 59th year of his age.

(Brass plate.) Gervase Broughton, of Bentley, senior, 7th August 1727, aged 59.

William Broughton of Arksey, January 5th 1761, æt 64.

John, y^o eldest son of Thomas Broughton, of Bentley, January 4th 1708, æt. 25, *Dux fuit ipse viæ*.

Elizabeth Broughton, wife of William Broughton, of Arksey, Sept. 24th 1759, aged 58 ; also 5 of their children. Also Godfrey Broughton, of Bentley, son to the above, who died January 5th 1791, aged 68.

⁸ Extract from the Admission Book of Christ's college, Cambridge :—

Jun : 1652

Thomas Broughton

Eboracensis.

Sizator sub Mag^{ro} Widdrington.

Daniel Broughton, of this town, who died 12th November, 1778, aged 42.

Mary Broughton, of Arksey, who died May 27, . . 36, aged 68 years.

Thomas Broughton, of Bentley, died 3^d July in 1746, aged 57 years.

James Broughton, citizen and innholder of London, by the remains of his father and mother Thomas and Elizabeth Broughton of this parish, 6 brothers and sisters, all interred near this place, who died June 26, 1778, in the 77th year of his age.

Ralph Broughton, of Bentley, March 6th 1800, aged 26.

William Broughton, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Broughton, of Bentley, January 2nd 1827, aged 26 years. He was universally respected, and will be long regretted by his acquaintances and friends.

William Broughton, of Arksey, November 26th 1836, aged 83.

Jane, wife of William Broughton, of Bentley, April 7th 1820, aged 66.

Joshua Broughton, late of Doncaster, 8 May 1840, aged 77. Mary, wife of the above, October 2nd 1840, aged 73.

Mary Ann, wife of Philip Goddard, of London, and eldest daughter of Mr. William Broughton, of this place, who died at Arksey, Sept. 18th 1858, aged 31.

Abiah, wife of William Broughton of Bentley, tailor, Nov. 8th 1844, aged 68. Also William Broughton, born May 22, 1771, died Feb. 21, 1832.

Thomas Broughton, of Bentley, who died August 13, 1854, aged 49. William, son of the above, April 19, 1841, aged 9 months. Thomas Wainwright, son of above, May 14, 1851, aged eight years.

William, youngest son of William and Mary Broughton, March 17, 1857, aged 28 years. Also the said Mary B., April 11, 1860, aged 66. Also William Broughton, May 12, 1861, aged 66. Henry, son of James and Elizabeth B., January 26, 1855, aged 7 years and 11 months. Also above-named Elizabeth B., Sept. 13, 1862, aged 55. Also James Broughton, late of High Fields, 19 May, 1868, aged 70 years.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE YORKSHIRE TENANTS
NAMED IN DOMESDAY BOOK.

By ALFRED S. ELLIS.

(CONTINUED FROM P. 248).

XXIX. GOSPATRIC.

Although there may have been others of this name, only two are *known* by the chroniclers to have been adults at this time; they were cousins, nearly related to, and no doubt named after, Gospatric, third son of Uchtred, earl of Northumberland, who was treacherously killed by order of queen Eadgith, at the king's court, on the fourth of Christmas, 1065, for her brother Tostig's sake. He seems to have been the first of this strange name—Patrick—with a prefix said to mean boy or disciple, but latinised by some of the chroniclers as "Caius Patricius."

Of the two cousins, one made his peace with the Conqueror, and had influence and wealth enough to get by purchase the earldom of Northumberland, after earl Copsi's death, but he was soon after (1072) deprived of it, and "*retired*" into Scotland, where he was welcomed by king Malcolm, and obtained the lands of Dunbar. He was the ancestor of the earls of Dunbar and several other Scotch families. (See Mr. Drummond's *British Families*.) The date of his death is not known, but he was buried at Durham, where he had great influence, though south of the Tees he does not appear to have had any possessions.

The entries under this name in the Survey seem, however, all of them to refer to one man—the other cousin—Gospatric, son of the thane Arkill. In 1068 this Arkill, being the most powerful chief of the Northumbrians, made a treaty of peace with the Conqueror, who accepted his son as a hostage for his fidelity. (Ordericus, IV. iv.) This son was *probably* the Gospatric of the Survey, even then a man, for he had been a landowner in the days of king Edward, as will be seen. Not long after, Arkill, joining Merlesweyn, Gospatric

(afterwards earl), Edgar Atheling, the four sons of Karl, and others, with the assistance of the burghers of York, made a desperate attack on the royal fortress there, of which William Malet was governor, but they were surprised by the active king and surrounded. Many were slain and many were taken prisoners, but Arkill was among those who escaped by flight. (*Ib.* IV. v.) Arkill's estates were no doubt then forfeited, and Gospatric, probably still his father's hostage, would have been sacrificed had he not found favour in the king's eyes. Again, Arkill and the others, assisted by the Danes, attacked York, 1069; this time the city was taken and sacked, but the ultimate consequences were as disastrous as before, and we do not hear of him again. *It is said* he escaped to Scotland, and king Malcolm granted him the lands which afterwards constituted the earldom of Lennox, his grandson Alwyne, son of his son Arkill, being the first earl.¹ What further we know of his son, Gospatric, is recorded by Simeon of Durham, who states that his mother was Sigrida, (daughter of the Yorkshire thane, Kilvert, son of Ligulf), who had been the wife of another Arkill, (son of Fridgist), and also of earl Eadulf. Arkill had with this wife, who was a granddaughter of bishop Aldun, certain lands of the see of Durham, which he gave back to St. Cuthbert after her death. Gospatric took to wife a daughter of Dolfin, son of Thorfin, and had a son, Gospatric, who "of late ought to have fought with" (his cousin) Waltheof, son of Eilsa of Tees, perhaps about some of those lands of the see of Durham, which bishop Aldun had given his daughter, from whom they were both descended.

This tenant in capite was the only Englishman in Yorkshire who found sufficient favour with the Conqueror to be allowed to keep any of his private estate:—some, as we shall see, were permitted to retain their thane-lands, but all of them, with this exception, were deprived of their own property. Gospatric himself was probably the king's thane of that name, who retained lands as such in Holden and Heworth, for in the latter place he had also another estate.

¹ It is not improbable that Arkill the king's thane (*v. post*) may have been Gospatric's younger brother, and received into favour by his influence. Copsi, son of Archil, who witnessed a charter of earl Alan, (c. 1135), may have

been another member of this family; also Hermer, son of Arkil, a benefactor to St. Mary's Abbey, whose daughter Gutherith, was grandmother of Torfin de Manfield.

Gospatric continued to hold, besides certain lands, thirty-two manors (distinctly so named), which had been his in the days of King Edward the Confessor ; some twenty or more of these were in that part of Burghshire (now Claro Wapentake) between the rivers Ure and Nidd, and between the towns of Ripon, Aldborough, Knaresborough, and Pateley Bridge. In this district his lands were intermixed with those of William de Perci and Gilbert Tison, chiefly the former. We need only notice the following, as affording some means of identifying him and his descendants, among whom some of his lands seem to have been distributed. At Marton he had twelve carucates, the largest area held by him at any one place ; it was formerly rated at only 40s., and now at 20s., and perhaps he had a hall there. Farnham is the only place in the whole number stated to have had a church. At Stanley (South ?) he had a manor and eight carucates ; at Stolley (Staveley or Studley ?), a manor and lands, but they were waste. In three other places, Aldfield, Bickerton, and Burton, he had obtained manors, formerly belonging to Arkill, his father ; only, however, a very small portion of the latter's former estate. In Weardley, he had the manors of Ligulf and Saxulf, whose heir he may have been, through his mother, daughter of the thane Kilvert, son of Liulph, or Ligulf. We also find that he retained a manor of nine carucates of land and 100 acres of meadow in Sledmere, an outlying estate which, no doubt, had come to him through his mother, for *Kilvert*, and Thorfin also, had *held* a manor here, which the earl of Mortain obtained. Gospatric had a few other manors out of Burghshire, but adjoining it, and the fief of most if not of all of these lands, Nigel de Albini, or Roger de Mowbray obtained with others from Henry I. Alan, son of Thurstan,² son of Gospatric, exchanged with archbishop Roger all the lands which his father and ancestors held in Stanley (see above) of the archbishop's fief, for lands in Bishopton and Ripshire, by deed dated at Ripon, in the archbishop's court, "in the nineteenth year of king Henry nephew of king Henry," 1173. (Mon. Angl. vi. 1191.) The descendants of another son, Dolphin, it is said, retained Staveley.

² A godson, most likely, of archbishop Thurstan (1119-44), whence we get a clue to his age. At the time of the

Survey the archbishop had lands in Stanley.

In Langburgh wapentake, and other parts of the North Riding, Gospatric (the same no doubt) had held Brafferton, Harton, Ulveston, and fourteen other manors, but the king was retaining them in his own hands. At Ulveston this tenant in capite holds also another manor, not retained by the king, which serves to identify him as the same Gospatric. Among the fourteen others, we find Cayton and Allerston, which his descendants afterwards held, although they were retained by the king at the date of the Survey. Uctred de Alverstain, (Allerston), son of Gospatric, gave to prior Serlo (ob. c. 1102), and the monks of Whitby, two carucates of land in Kaiton (all which, by the Survey, Gospatric had there in the days of king Edward), on condition they would receive him into their house, should he choose at any time to leave the world; and Thorfin, his son, gave them the church at Crosby-Ravenswart, in Westmorland, about 1140. Thorfin's son, Alan, left a daughter and heiress, Helen, whom Thomas de Hastings married, and their present representative in the male line is the Earl of Huntingdon. Nor was this all Gospatric's former estate, for his manor of Masham had been given to Ernes de Burun; three others to Roger the Poictevin count; two to the earl of Mortain; and four, with lands in Thoresby and other places, to earl Alan, who allowed him to hold them under him, as also to succeed Arkill as his tenant in eight others. These lands in Thoresby, if we may trust that fine old "*Rotulus Historico-Genealogicus*" of Henry VI.'s time,³ descended by another son, Dolfin, to the family called de Thoresby, which produced an archbishop of York, and our genial old antiquary of Leeds, who was not a little proud of his long pedigree,

"series longissima"

Per tot ducta viros antiquâ ab origine gentis."

Gospatric's property was, it seems, divided among his sons, who sunk to be under-tenants of what they retained. They were *Gospatric*, only mentioned by Simeon of Durham, but perhaps the father of Thurstan named above; *Uchtred* of Allerston and Kayton, and *Dolfin* of Staveley (?) and Thoresby.⁴

³ Cottonian Coll. engraved in Gale's *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*.

⁴ The exact affiliation of the various Dolfins and Uctreds, &c., must always

XXX. TERRA TAINORUM REGIS.

The Thegns or Thanes had originally been personal servants, military retainers or household officials of the kings, earls and bishops, and had obtained lands from them in reward or payment for their services. These lands, in course of time, their descendants continued to enjoy, performing the services, which the grand sergeanty of later times may be said to represent. Probably every bishop and earl, as well as the king, had his mass-thane or chaplain, his dish-thane, his staller or horse-thane, &c. The king's thanes became a powerful class when England was consolidated into one kingdom, the eorlдерmen taking the place of the lesser kings, and the king's thanes taking apparently theirs, administering local justice and having other privileges of rank when residing on their benefices. When attending the king they were entitled to a seat in the royal hall. There are some particularly interesting passages in the Survey referring to the king's thanes and their lands, showing how the sons, sometimes, divided the lands of their father, taking it in turn to perform the required service, those who remained at home attending to the affairs of the one absent on duty, but the eldest only was the "king's man." (Claims. Lincoln, fo. 375, b.)

The Survey of the land of the king's thanes has this heading, "Terra Tainorum Regis," but in the Recapitulation of Carucates (fo. 379) the *king* ("Rex") stands as the owner of the whole, except of the land of Ernwine. It is probable therefore that the full extent of what they held *officially* is stated, though many of them had in addition private estates by inheritance or by acquisition; still it is almost impossible to identify an individual with certainty, in different parts of the Survey by name only, without any other distinction, though this may be done sometimes where it is found that the Norman grantee had the entire estate of his predecessor, as in the case of Merlesweyn; by which it is proved that wherever that name occurs in the Survey whether in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, or even Somersetshire, it refers everywhere to the

remain uncertain: this Dolfin is made the son of earl Gospatric of that name in some pedigrees (See Surtees' *Durham*, iv. 157, and Drummond's *Brit. Families*),

but this view is less likely to be correct (see Dolfin, the king's thane). Dolfin's son, Uchtred, was ancestor of the de Hebdens, benefactors to Fountains Abbey.

same person. Some thane-lands retained by the crown are mentioned under "Terra Regis."

The following—alphabetically rearranged for convenience—are those king's thanes who were fortunate enough to make terms with the Conqueror. They can hardly be regarded as tenants in capite, but were rather occupiers of royal demesne or of land reserved by the crown, of which when subsequently granted, soon after the date of the Survey, they then became undertenants. Perhaps in some cases they may have been allowed to choose a mesne lord, as in the case of Ingemund, who seems to have subjected his own land to Earl Alan, holding also other lands *under* him. (Claims. Linc. fo. 376.)

Some new names occur among the thanes of persons who were not landowners in the days of king Edward, and who must have been grantees or inherited subsequently, but Landric was probably a Norman.

As will be noticed, the king's thanes, with the exception of Gospatric, assuming him to be the same as the preceding, lost *all* their private estates except in cases where the Norman grantees accepted them as undertenants of their former property. This earl Alan and Ilbert de Laci notably did; Gospatric it would seem only managed to retain a *part* of his estates, and to acquire some part of his father's.

The king's thane-lands, in two instances, notably in the parishes of Wath near Doncaster and Burnsall in Craven, had formerly been royal lordships of great extent and divided among several thanes, whose portions are styled manors. In Burnsall parish were eight such manors. Those in Wath as well as most, if not all, those in Craven were afterwards parcel of the honour of Skipton.

The Survey (fo. 299) states that "those thanes who held more than six manors had relief of their lands now only from the king, paying 8*l*." It does not appear that there were any holding so much in Yorkshire unless their private estate was counted in. They would be tenants in capite. Those who had six manors or less had relief from the sheriff for three marks of silver.

ALSI (*Ælfsige*) is a name occurring in many counties. He was holding it seems two manors in Darfield; one had been his own, the other Chetelbert's. He had been a considerable landowner in this part of Yorkshire, and Ilbert de Laci

acquired most of his estates, particularly Campsal (rated at 47. 'then and now'), Darrington and Shepton (Shafton); and Roger de Busli, his valuable manors in Kimberworth and Brodsworth. Six manors in Lincolnshire of an Alsi, perhaps the same, fell to William de Perci.

ALURED,⁵ the Norman way of writing Alfred, a name which had reached Normandy and Brittany long before this. It seems to have furtively lingered on, right through the middle ages in Yorkshire, from the days of our noble king, if not from those of the earlier Alcfrid of Northumberland. He retained his manor of Weeton.

ARCHILL still held his manors of Whitley,⁶ Ripley, Rigton and Bilton in the neighbourhood of Knaresborough, and, if the same person, his manor of Marton in Cleveland with its berwick in Tollesby. This name—generally spelt in the hard northern English Arkill—so frequently occurs in the Survey, and was so very common at the time, that there can be no certainty about the identity of this particular Archill. He has been considered to be the father of Gospatric, who survived the Conquest; but, if he were living at this date, it was rather as an outlaw in Scotland, wherē he is claimed as the progenitor of the earls of Lennox. It is more likely that this thane was the Archel son of Ulf, whose lands in Hagenby and Leathley William de Perci acquired and allowed him to be his tenant at Studley.

AREGRIM, or more correctly Arnegrim, (eagle visage?) managed to retain his manors and lands of Thorpe and Kirkby (Underdale) near Pocklington. His name does not occur elsewhere, nor was it common, so he may have been a grandson of Earngrim, mentioned by Simeon of Durham as the father of Sigferth and Morkar the chief thanes of the seven boroughs, slain in 1016 by order of the perfidious Edric Streona. The queen of Edmund Ironside was Algitha, Sigferth's widow. Hernegrim, this same thane, became a

⁵ This name was borne by five generations of the family of de Lincoln. It got rare in the 15th century, but we have Alfred de Manston of Manston in Berwick-in-Elmet, nephew of judge Gascoigne (see *Test. Ebor.*), and in 1514 Alfred Elys of that same parish (Brewer's *Letters*, &c., i. 763). Alvery, a name with the Copleys, seems to be a corrupted form. The prevalence of Alfred at the present day is an unconnected resuscitation. Allerton

is Alfred'ston, and Alfreton in Derbyshire was formerly Alfreddington.

⁶ The family of Simpson of Knaresborough *claims* descent from this thane, having been for many generations resident in the parish of Clint, in which Whitley is. A Simon living in the time of Edward I. originated the surname, and this name was certainly used once or twice by the descendants of Gospatric. (*Landed Gentry.*)

monk, and gave to St. Mary's abbey, York, the church of Kirkby, "Hundelvesdale" (the place mentioned above); this must have been subsequently to 1088-9, as it is not named in Rufus's charter. (Mon. Angl. iii. 549.)

ARTOR PRESBYTER, perhaps more correctly a mass-thane, continued to hold his manor in Melton and Brampton, in the parish of Wath, with its four berwicks, also lands in Billingley. Another estate of Artor's, in Brampton, the earl of Mortain obtained; Alberic de Coci, his manor in Hickleton, and Ilbert de Laci, his manor in Smeaton, though he is not in these cases styled a priest. This is probably the same name as Arthur, which the Celtic Solar Myth has made so famous, and was borne by several kinglets of South Wales in the 6th century, whose charters may be found in that remarkable collection of early documents, "The Book of Llandaff."

AUTBERT retained his manor in Dalton, apparently North Dalton, on the Wolds between Pocklington and Great Driffield. As this name does not occur anywhere else, the single carucate he had held here as king's thane and managed to keep, was, it seems, all the land he possessed.

CARLE, the hard northern English for Charles, a distinction preserved in Carlton and Charlton still. He continued to hold his manor in Bolton (-Fleming?), but what was the extent of the estate he forfeited it is difficult to tell, for the name frequently occurs, and it is doubtful whether all the entries refer to one person.⁷ He was probably of the same family as Carl the son of Thorbrand the Hold, who slew earl Aldred in Rise wood. (Qu. Rise in Holderness, where Cnut held five carucates in king Edward's time, and was no doubt Carl's son of that name mentioned by Simeon.)

CHETEL, a common name, occurring frequently in many counties. This particular one acquired Arkill's manor in Coniston in Craven, and was perhaps the same who had been deprived of manors in Appletreewick, Holden, and other places. Chetel retained a thane's manor in Hompton (? where). A Chetel was also Ilbert de Laci's tenant at Bradley, and, though not the former owner of that place, he was perhaps the same person as the Chetel whose lands in Almondbury Ilbert obtained.

⁷ Carle held in Lincolnshire a manor in Carlby.

CLIBERT, perhaps the same as Chilbert, that is Ketelbert, often written Kilvert and Chilvert,⁸ held and continued to hold four manors by thaneship, one each in Flamborough, Marton, Helperthorpe, and Siwardby. His manor in Bugthorpe, the archbishop, or rather the canons, of St. Peter obtained. Although the Survey seems to make a distinction, Chilbert (probably the same person) had held as king's thane three manors, one in Wharram and two in Carnaby, which two farmers hold. The king retained Chilbert's lands at Thwing and other places. At Colhan he and his brother held two manors.

The count of Mortain obtained most of his estate, including his manor at Wharram, rated at 100s., and five others. His two manors in Hunmanby with several berwicks rated at 12*l.*, fell to Gilbert de Gand, and as this was his chief lordship, he might be called Chilbert of Hunmanby.

The manor in Sledmere, which fell to the earl of Mortain, had been held (jointly) by Chilbert and Torfin, and they also each had a manor in Kirkby. They were perhaps brothers.

Simeon of Durham says a certain Yorkshire thane Kilvert, son of Ligulf, took Ecgfrida, daughter of bishop Aldun (990—1020) to wife, when earl Uchtred sent her away. By him she had a daughter, Sigrida, whom the thane Arkill married and had by her, Gospatric (q. v.)

Kilvert also repudiated his wife, so she returned to her father, the bishop, became a nun and was buried in the minster yard at Durham. Chilbert, of the Survey, was perhaps a son or grandson of this Kilvert by another wife. But it is observable, however, that names more frequently recur, and are better kept up in the female lines.

DOLFIN continued to hold three manors in the parish of Burnsall in Craven, namely, in Appletreewick, Hartlington, and Rilleston; the two latter had belonged to Almund, in king Edward's time. His lands seem to have been acquired or inherited after the Conquest, though a Dolfin held in the late reign half a carucate of land in Aldfield, also, if the same person be meant, lands, as a king's thane, at Tipton in Derbyshire (fo. 278 b.), and he was still living, claiming lands in Calow (*Ib.*). Ilbert de Laci acquired Dolfin's manor in Bradley. This Dolfin, however, was evidently

⁸ Two of this name, so spelt, had two manors in (Nun)keeling in Holderness.

the ancestor of the family of 'de Hebden,' benefactors to Fountains Abbey, and father of Uctred, to whom Robert de Bulmer granted, in the reign of Henry I., one carucate of land in Burnsal with the mediety of the advowson, and Roger de Mowbray, the manor of Hebden in the same neighbourhood. This Dolfin is said to have been a *son* of Gospatric, son of Arkill (whose wife Simeon informs us was a daughter of *Dolfin*, son of Thorfin), but dates would rather make him his *brother*. Earl Gospatric also had a son of this name, and a Dolfin, one of these, no doubt, governor of Carlisle, was driven out by Rufus, 1092. (Anglo Sax. Chron.)

ELRIC. Egelric or Ethelric, had obtained lands in Whitley in the soke of Snaith, which appear to have belonged to Ragenald and Wige. He may or may not have been the same with Alric of Cawthorne, whose broad lands Ilbert de Laci acquired, allowing him to be his tenant of some of them: the father of Suuen, the king's thane (q. v.).

ERNWINE PRESBYTER probably had been one of king Edward's chaplains or mass thanes, but he has not been found attesting any charters of that reign. He was no doubt a man of high family and a great pluralist of benefices as such were at that time. As king's thane he was still retaining two manors he held in king Edward's days, viz., in Kilham, Gransmore and Harpham, an estate near Great Driffeld, rated formerly at 15*l.*, but now waste. In the Recapitulation of Carucates he alone of all the king's thanes is named as owner of his lands, in all other cases we find, 'Rex.' He had also acquired three manors which had belonged to three thanes, namely, Ingrid's in Hugget, Ulchil's in Ernulfsthorpe, and Crucan's in Camblesforth. The manor in Betham, formerly earl Tostig's, Roger of Poictou 'now' has and Ernuin the priest under him. Osbern de Arcis had some of his property and was holding other lands which the jurors affirm belonged to Malet, but that Ernwine the priest was the lawful owner. He had a considerable private estate, and was claiming land in Grimston, also land in Aughton, which the jurors say ought to be his, but Nigel Fossard claims it for earl Robert, and appeals to the king (fo. 273 a.). This seems to show that he was identical with Ernui, whose manor here was given to the earl and held by Nigel. It follows, then, that he might have been the same Ernui whose manors in Garforth, Brierley and

Snidal had been given to Ilbert de Laci. But there were at least two of this name mentioned in the Survey of Yorkshire, as Robert Malet had among others, the houses of Ernuin and *another* Ernuin. The land of Ernwine in York Hugh, the sheriff, delivered to Walcher, bishop of Durham, pursuant to the king's writ (fo. 298). Ernwine held lands also in Notts, Lincolnshire, and Bedfordshire, and we can gather from the Survey some interesting particulars about him. He must have found great favour with the Conqueror, for he obtained earl Morkar's mansion in Lincoln, and "holds it of the king, 'he says,' the same as Morkar held it, with sac and soke."

Ernwine, in king Edward's days, had twenty-two houses and two churches, with land in the town of Stamford, but they were given to Eudo dapifer. Ernwine was the heir of Godric, son of Garewine, and, as such, claimed the church and lands of All Saints in Lincoln against the abbot of Peterborough, who obtained them when Godric became a monk (there ?) ; but the burgesses say that such an alienation from kindred and the city could not be made without the king's leave (fo. 336).

In Lincolnshire he held six bovates in South Witham under the king in alms, also other lands there, but a manor in Fillingham, which he had held under the queen, the king then had ; though the manor of Ingham, formerly Sweyn's, Ernwin still 'holds' under the king *and queen*. Perhaps he was or had been the queen's chaplain, almoner, or clerk. That he did not tamely submit to the Conqueror, appears from this passage (fo. 347 b.) :—William Blund had Eculf's land in Beesby "on the day Ernwine the priest was taken and before that." Ernwine was holding lands in Bedfordshire which he inherited from his father, who was 'king Edward's man,' (*i. e.* thane). He might have been a son of either Godric or Garewine, whose heir we have seen he was : more probably of the latter, if he were the Ernui, *who, with Godric* (the same there can be no doubt, and his brother) *conjointly* held a manor in Shippon and Stretton near Leeds, which Ilbert de Laci obtained with other lands of theirs not held in common.

ESNEBERN held a manor in Studley by thaneship in king Edward's days, and 'still retains it, though waste.' The land was seven oxgangs. This is all he seems to have had, as the name occurs nowhere else in the Survey.

FORNE acquired, when or how does not appear, a manor

in (Nun-)Burnholm, near Pocklington, which had been held in common by three thanes (Morkar, Turvet, and Turchil, brothers, no doubt) in the late reign. This was certainly Forne of Skirpenbec, dispossessed of all his estates, but given this by the crown. The best of his property, seven manors, including Skirpenbec, his chief lordship, had been given to Odo Balistarius with his house or residence in York. Drogo de Bevrere got his manor of Sproatley in Holderness, and Ilbert de Laci his manor of Kirkby, but the king still retained in his own hands his lands in Anlaby, if this all refer to him; but there was another Forne ("Fargrim"), whose lands in Scornby had been given to W. de Perci. Forne had, it seems, also land in Hope, in Gloucestershire, which William fitz Baderon received (fo. 167). What rank he had in king Edward's reign is not apparent, as he does not seem to have been a king's thane then. He was *very probably* (more cannot be said) the same who, as Forne, son of *Sigulf*, witnessed the charter of Rannulf Meschyn, founding a priory at Wetherall, in Cumberland, as a cell to St. Mary's abbey, in the time of abbot Stephen, and probably about 1090 (Mon. Angl. iii. 580). It has been said that this Rannulf, afterwards earl of Chester, had granted to *Liulph*, his father, the lordship of Graystock, in Cumberland, and that Henry I. confirmed it to Forne. Liulph was therefore living at the date of the Survey, may be the king's thane of this name to be mentioned below, and the same Ligulf whose manor in *Fornethorp* (now incorrectly called Thornthorp, near Malton) had been given, with others in the neighbourhood, to the earl of Mortain. This is interesting, and seems to show that Forne was an old name in this family. Forne appears to have been in favour with Henry I.,⁹ as was also his daughter Edith, who had been one of the king's mistresses, and was mother of Robert fitz Edith, but afterwards married to Robert d'Oyley, of Hooknorton, in Oxfordshire. This Forne can hardly be the same who died in 1131 (Pipe Roll), when Ivo, his son, paid 100s. to have his father's lands; he would more probably be his grandson, son of "Ulf Fornesson,"¹⁰

⁹ He witnessed, as *Forno filius Sigulfi*, a charter of Henry I. dated at Nottingham, but rather doubtful.—*Archæologia*, vi. 49.

¹⁰ "—son" was introduced into the north of England by the Norse and Danes, and was long before it altogether supplanted

the Saxon -ing in the south. Like that, it was a suffix, as it still is in Danish, but the word *sunu* was also independently used. All surnames like Johnson originated in the north and distinctly *English* parts of this country.

who gave a carucate of land in Skirpenbec, the church and one carucate in Hawkeswell, to St. Mary's abbey, after 1088 (Mon. Angl. iii. 549). This is interesting, for we thus find Forne's heirs holding lands under the Norman grantee of his manor, but they do not seem to have continued long after.

The descendants of Forne flourished at Graystock until 1305, and bore the strange coat, gules, three cushions, two and one, argent, perhaps a canting device.

GAME is not the same as Gamel, which seems a diminutive of it. Presuming all the entries to refer to one man, he retained his manors in Tibthorpe on the Wold and Garraby. In Thoraby, in king Edward's time, he, his mother and his brother, held three manors, one each; the whole seems to have come to him, 'which he now lets.' He acquired the manor of Norman and Asa in Lowthorp. Hugh fitz Baldric had some of the lands of Game as well as of Gamel, but they were sometimes confused, as in the case of Cottingham and Cave. William Malet had Game's manor in Cave, formerly rated at 12*l*.

GAMEL managed to retain his manor at Walkington, near Beverley, alone out of all his former possessions in king Edward's time. This he held as king's thane. There can be little doubt, though no certainty, that he was the same Gamel who sold four carucates in Risby, adjoining, to archbishop Aldred, in king William's time, therefore, between 1066—9; and the same Gamel, son of Osbert,¹¹ who had sac and soke and other privileges, but in Cottingham only (fo. 298b.), which had therefore probably been his chief seat. His lordship there, valued in the previous reign at 4*l*., had been given with other of his lands in this part of Yorkshire to Hugh fitz Baldric; among them, the manor of Grimston. Gamel of Grimston, himself, or a grandson perhaps, gave four bovates in Kirkby to St. Mary's abbey after 1088 (Henry II.'s charter, Mon. Angl. iii. 549). Gamel, son of Ketel of Melsa, also, was far more likely to have been of this family than to have come, as the Meaux chronicler imagined, "from Meaux, in France, which name he gave to this place," for it is found in the Survey.

GOSPATRIC had a manor in Holden, in Craven, which he

¹¹ So distinguished in the Survey, because there were others of the name mentioned, as Gamel son of Osmund, who

had lands in Haslewood (fo. 373). Gamelthorpe (now Ganthorpe), near Terrington, belonged to a Gamel, t. r. Edw.

held as king's thane, and so 'continues' ; also one carucate of land in Heworth. This is no doubt, Gospatric son of Arkill, the subject of the previous article.

HARDULF was allowed to continue in possession of his manor in Burnsall (in Craven), wherein so many king's thanes had lands. He was, perhaps, of the same family as Glonieorn, son of Heardulf, mentioned by Florence of Worcester, as one of the thanes who entered York, 3 Oct. 1065, and revenged the murder of Gospatric, Gamel, and Ulf. Robert de Bulmer seems to have obtained Hardulf's manor. Ardulf's manors of Riddlesden and Morton the king retained. Addlethorp is in the Survey, Ardulfesthorp.

LANDRIC acquired, how it does not appear, Basin's manor in Badthorpe, and Chetel's in Acaster. And as this name does not occur among the landowners before the Conquest, he probably was a new comer, and may be the same as Landric of Hornby, the tenant of earl Alan, whose son, Wigan, gave the church there to St. Mary's abbey, (Mon. Angl. iii. 551) ; or more likely, unless all refer to one man, Landric the *carpenter*,¹² who had ten houses and a half in York made over to him by the sheriff (by the King's writ) fo. 298. He was perhaps master carpenter of the castle and defences of the city, which might make him a king's thane.

Landric, at the time of the Survey, was holding lands which the jurors say were William Malet's (fo. 374).

LIGULF, or Liulf, retained his manor in Ri(g)ton, and had a priest there. It is uncertain whether he was the king's thane of this name who *had* Kildale, or the one who *had* Rudston, or how many Liulfs there were. As the last-named was succeeded at Rudston by Uctred, he may be the one killed in Durham who heads the tree of the noble family of Lumley, and had a son of this name who carried on the line. Liulf of Fornethorp, mentioned under 'Forne,' was a benefactor to St. Mary's, and must be one of these. There were several of this name, for two Ligulfs had two manors in Newhouse.

¹² The *carpentarius* of this date as now was one who prepared and fixed the rough timber used in the construction of roofs, &c.; and in military works, the palisades, boarding, drawbridges, &c.; probably also the engines of war, under the direction of the *balistarius*, and the movable towers, called "Malvoisins," set up in regular sieges, when he would be

actively employed under the *Ingeniator*. Wooden bridges were also part of his work. Originally the Roman *carpentarius* had been a maker of carpenter, two-wheeled carts or wagons with a *pendent* covering of skins, which necessity may have invented in a remote nomadic age, when the early Aryans were moving across the plains of western Asia.

MALCOLUN had acquired the two manors of Maccus and Orm in Ouseburn, and as he does not occur as a landowner before the Conquest, these may have come to him by inheritance. Maccus may have been his father, bearing, like him, a Scotch name, but not so common as Malcolm¹³ (the devotee of St. Columba). We find these names associated in 973, Malcolm, King of the Scots, and Maccus, King of the Isles, being among those who were tributary to Edgar, and rowed him on the Dee. A Macus had held lands in Lincolnshire which Alured of Lincoln got (fo. 358b.), otherwise this name does not occur in the Survey. William Malet had all the land of Norman, *son of Malcolumbe*, in the East Riding (Claims. fo. 373), which seems to have been only a manor in Drewton.

MALDRED acquired Altor's manor at Wilton, in Cleveland, 'worth 20s. now as formerly.' This name does not occur again in the Survey. The De Bulmers were afterwards lords of this manor, so the means of identifying Maldred are destroyed.

This was the name of the father of the Earl Gospatric, and if this Maldred were descended from him, royal English blood was in his veins. A century later a Maldred was lord of Raby, and progenitor of the great house of Nevil, and the name for a while fitfully lingered in the dales at *Malham* and other places.

NORMAN continued to hold his manor in Hartlington in Burnsall in Craven, which he had before the Conquest. This was a common name in England, and was also used by the Normans. It is evident there was more than one in Yorkshire, so it is difficult to identify him.

ORM still held Ormsby in Cleveland, a manor held in common in the late reign by 'four thanes,' himself and brothers or his father and uncles. This place bears the name of his ancestor rather than himself, but indicates his Danish extraction, and means Orm's abode. Whether he was the same Orm who continued to hold and held as king's thane a manor in Azerley, or the Orm, who acquired a manor in Appletreewick in Craven, which had belonged to

¹³ Maccus, however, was rather a name adopted from the Norse by the Scotch, and has nothing to do with the Gaelic *Mac*, but said to be a corruption of

Magnus. Maccus, son of Onlaf, slew Eiric, the last king of Northumbria, 950. (Simeon of Durham.)

Chetel cannot be decided, but he was probably the Orm who, in thaneship, held Ligulf's manor in Kildale in Cleveland, which Bruce afterwards obtained, as well as Orm's late manor in Appleton-on-Wisk, at the date of the Survey in the king's hands. He *may* have been the Orm, whose lands were given to Hugh Fitz Baldric; eight manors, two of them of considerable value, Hovingham and Bagby.

There can be little doubt, however, it was this Orm of Ormsby, who is mentioned by Simeon of Durham as Orm son of Gamel, and that he married Etheldritha, daughter of earl Aldred, and had a daughter and heiress Ecgfrida, whose husband Eilsi of Tees had, with her, some of the lands of the see of Durham. It was Orm's father, Gamel, son of Orm, who was murdered by earl Tostig in his chamber at York, 1064. (Florence of Worc.)

OSWARD retained his manor of five carucates in Heslerton (near Malton), 'but it is now waste:' he also got a manor in Grimston that had belonged apparently to Godritha, his mother perhaps.

RAMECHIL, if not identical with Ravenchil, for the names are the same really, retained his two manors in Scotton and Ripley.

RAVENCHIL, or, at length, Ravenchetel, sometimes spelt Ravechill, Ranchill, and Ramechil, is a name to be compared with Ravengar, Ravenswart. He continued to possess his manor in Rilleston in Craven, also, jointly with Torchil, one manor in Thorpe.

Whether he was the Ravenchill whose lands in Holderness Drogo got, or he whose lands Ilbert got, is uncertain.

Roger fil. Ranchill was one of the 'homines' of (Stephen) count of Mortain, between the Ribble and the Mersey, 1131 (Pipe Roll.)

RODMUND acquired (Anduid's) manor in Grimston. This name does not occur elsewhere in the Survey.

SUEN, or Sweyn, as it is more generally spelt, as king's thane continued to hold his manor in Melton in Wath, with its four berwicks in Hoyland, Thorpe, Wentworth, and Brampton. This Sweyn can be identified as the son of Ailric, who was himself still living, but retaining, out of all the land he formerly possessed, only Cawthorne with its dependencies in Silkston, Hoyland, and Clayton, and *that* under Ilbert de Laci, who had obtained most of his former estate.

If this Sweyn were the former lord of Sprotborough, he must have been a great landowner even in king Edward's time, this, however, is hardly likely, but he still held Dodworth, 'now' under Ilbert. On his father's death he succeeded to Cawthorne and, as 'Sweyn son of Ailrick,' gave the church of Silkston with the chapel at Cawthorne and lands at both places to the monks of Pontefract, calling on God to witness his deed. (Original in possession of Mr. Wentworth. Hunter's S. Yorks. ii. 221.) His son Adam fitz Sweyn was one of the chief men of the county in his day; farmed the royal town of Doncaster and founded Bretton priory, giving, *inter alia*, lands in Cadeby which Sweyn held, t. Edw. Confessor. Sweyn's wife, Adam's mother, survived, and died about 1131, when her son renders account of five marks of silver to have the lands which she had had in dower. (Pipe Roll.) As Adam died, 1158, it must be noted that though there is better evidence than usual in proof of these three generations, they extend over almost too long a period.

Sweyn, son of Ailric, subsequently to the Survey acquired Colling and three other manors in Craven. (Whitaker's Hist. p. 11.)

TONA acquired Thorkil's manor in Acaster and may be the same whose manor in Appleton Osbern de Arcis obtained.

TOR (more correctly Tori) retained his manor in Wombwell and Middleton as king's thane, but his other lands there had been given to Walter de Aincourt, as well as a manor in Rawmarsh ("Stori's," a clerical error of the scribe), and several others in Notts, wherein his estate chiefly was situated, besides four in Lincolnshire. It is not probable he was the Tor, who occurs elsewhere in the Survey of Yorkshire, but he might have been the father of Sweyn, who, with his son Jordan, witnessed the foundation charter of Roche abbey c. 1147. (Mon. Angl. v. 503.)

TORBER, Thorbert, still held with Uctred one manor in Newhouse (Newsome?) which he had before the Conquest. They were probably brothers holding a joint estate. It is evident there are others of the name mentioned.

TURBERN, Thorbern, retained his manors in Branton and Grafton near Aldborough, both now waste. His manor in Hornton, it seems, the king retained.

TURCHIL, Torkil or Thurketyl. This name occurs frequently in the Survey of Yorkshire, but it is doubtful how

many there were. This Turchil managed to retain his manor in Badthorpe held as king's thane, and the manor of Eschul in Anlaby, if the same person, which is not very probable. Jointly with Ravenchil, Torchil (perhaps another) held and retained their manor in Thorpe.

TORED was allowed to retain his manor in Watton near Beverley. He was perhaps the same, whose manor in Cave Robert Malet got.

UCHTRED acquired Hawart's lordship of Stokesley in Cleveland with soke over nine hamlets rated at 8*l.*, formerly 24*l.*, and was thus the most valuable estate held by any of the king's thanes. We find it not long afterwards belonging to the Baliols. Uchtred, hardly the same, obtained Carle's manor in Fraisingthorpe, Ligulf's in Rudston (v. "Ligulf"), and Gospatric's in Heslerton. Erneburgha, heiress of Burton, who married 1 Ulbert the constable, 2 Gilbert de Alost, gave lands of her *inheritance* in Fraisingthorpe to Swine priory. Another Uchtred held a manor jointly with Torber (q. v.).

ULCHEL, a very common name, more generally spelt Ulkill, originally Ulfketyl. It is evident there were several thanes of this name. One retained his manor in Acomb, another had Wiga's manor of Carlton (in Skyrack Wapentake), and was possibly the Ulkil, who held Royston of Ilbert de Laci, and also Lindley. Ulchil of Bramhope still held his manor there of Gilbert Tison, to whom it had been given. This was probably the Ulchil whose thane-manors in Allerton, Lareton, and Weeton, were still held by him. In Keswick Ulchil had four carucates of land, 'now he and his wife have there lands as two manors.' Another Ulchil retained his manor in Birdsall and Sutton.

ULF was holding Gamel's manor in Kilnsey in Burnsal, and may have been his son and, perhaps, father of Eadulf of Kilnsey, to whom Alice de Rumeli lady of Skipton gave six bovates in Appletreewick in the same parish.

ULSI continued to hold his manor in Wath with its three herwicks in Melton, Wentworth, and Aldburgh.

ULRIC retained his manor in Lareton held in thaneship, as also Uchil did another in the same place.

ROGERIUS PICTAVENSIS.

This name is registered at the close of the Survey of Yorkshire, because the possession of the great estate given to this younger son of the powerful earl of Shrewsbury, who was still living, was at the time, in some counties, doubtful, and in others apparently forfeited.

He soon afterwards regained all his lands, and retained them until his banishment in 1101.

He was the third son of Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury (ob. 27 July, 1094), by the notorious countess Mabel, heiress of Alençon, and had for his elder brothers, Robert de Belesme, count of Alençon, and Hugh de Montgomery, second earl of Shrewsbury. Robert, count of Mortain and earl of Cornwall, the Conqueror's half brother, was the husband of his sister Matilda. For this Roger and Arnulph, his youngest sons, Ordericus tells us, the prudent old earl had obtained, each, the hand of an heiress (as well as estates from the crown), and he therefore left them no share of his domains.

Roger got the name of "the Poictevin," from the rich and noble lady of Poitou, found for him, namely, Almodis, only daughter of Aldebert III., count of La Marche,¹⁴ in France, and sole heiress of her brother, count Boson III., who was killed in 1091, when Roger became count of La Marche, in right of his wife, though he still continued to reside chiefly in England. (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, x. 227.) Though young, he must, from his name, have been married to this lady before the date of the Survey, 1086.

Roger obtained fifty-two manors in Yorkshire, mostly in the district of Craven, and adjoining Lancashire, wherein the chief part of his fief lay. His most valuable properties in Yorkshire were, earl Tostig's manors in Grindleton and Betham, and those of Giggleswick and Barnoldswick. Two carucates in Coniston William de Perci had, Roger 'now'

¹⁴ The province of "La Marche" was, as its name implies, a march or border land, separating Poitou and Berri. It was anciently divided into "La Haute Marche" and "La Basse Marche," and each had its count; but the counts of Charroux afterwards had both. The abbey of Ahun mentioned in this

article was founded in 997 by count Boson II., and a priory was founded by the countess Almodis in 1115, with the assent of her sons Aldebert and Boson, at Chastain. These were both in this province, as well as the castle of Charroux, which remained the chief seat of the counts.

has, says the Survey ; and land in Barnoldswick Berengar de Toden *had*, but it is 'now' within the castellate of Roger. In various other counties extensive estates had been granted to him, but, excepting those in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire,¹⁵ Essex, and Suffolk, they are described in the Survey as no longer his. It was so with the great territory he 'had' possessed between the Ribble and the Mersey, in Lancashire, wherein he had, it seems, fixed upon Clitheroe as the *caput* of his honor, and built the castle there before the date of the Survey, for his Yorkshire lands were held of it, as we may infer from the passage above cited. He gave Blackburnshire, before the date of the Survey, to Roger de Busli and Albert Greslet. So great was Roger's estate and influence in Lancashire that he has been called by some writers, but without authority, earl of Lancaster. That county did not exist at this date, and the Survey includes Agemundrenesse in Yorkshire. This district was then 'Terra Regis,' but Roger *had held* the great lordship of Preston. It is not stated that he held either Halton or Whittington, yet it is certain that he, in the next reign, was lord also of these, and had fixed upon Lancaster in the former, then an all but deserted Roman site, for another castle. In 1094, as "Rogerus comes Pictavensis," he gave for his own soul, and the souls of Roger of Shrewsbury, his father, countess Mabel, his mother, and his brethren, to St. Martin's abbey, at Sees, in Normandy, the church of St. Mary, at Lancaster, with lands, &c. His daughter, Sibil, witnessed the charter with him. (Cartulary, Harl. MS., 3764, fo. 1.) This was really the foundation of an alien priory here. He gave other advowsons and lands in Lancashire to the abbey of St. Peter, at Shrewsbury, founded by his father, on condition one mass was daily said

¹⁵ Bloxholm and thirty one other manors. Among his 'men' in Lincolnshire, we find 'Blanchard' holding lands under him in Nettleton and two other places; he was probably a relative of Robert Blanchard, monk of Bec, who had accompanied the Conqueror, and was nominated first abbot of Battle, but was drowned recrossing the channel. The Blanchards were still remaining at Nettleton and Clisby in the reign of Edward III., and they were no doubt the parent stock of the Blanchards of Howdenshire and the hundred of Ouse and Derwent in this county. Those of the name remain-

ing in Normandy bore 3 crescents (2 and 1), which those of Lincolnshire may also have used. Ordericus (XII. xvi.) pleasingly records what befel a lad named William Blanchard and his little sister in a thunderstorm on the eve of St. Lawrence, 1134. 'Pois Blancart' is named among the dowry lands in the marriage contract of Richard II. duke of Normandy, and Judith of Rennes, 997 (Marten's *Thesaur.* i. 122). This name is rather of the same class as Richard, than, as has been suggested, originally a sobriquet for one who wore white clothes, *blanches hardes*.

for himself, his wife, his father, and mother. (Mon. Angl., i. 380.) Rannulph, earl of Chester, confirmed to the monks of Evesham, Hockwick, (Hawkswick, near Kettlewell), given to them by "count Roger the Poictevin." (*Ib.* iii. 420.) He does not seem to have made any other donation out of his Yorkshire manors, nor benefited St. Mary's nor Selby.

In the reign of Rufus, Roger, acting with his brother, the count of Alençon, appears upon the page of history. These brothers became too powerful to remain long faithful subjects of the king, with whom they ranked among the great feudatories of France. It was found that their influence was sufficient to give preponderance to the side they espoused, and Henry I. must have been greatly relieved when he was able to banish them from England.

Simeon of Durham mentions 'Roger the Poictevin count' as being at Durham on the feast of the Nativity of St. Mary, (8 Sept.), 1088, and that, with earls Alan and Odo, he pledged himself to conduct the contumacious bishop to the king's court at (Old) Sarum, and they arrived there on the 2nd November.

In 1090, Roger and Arnulph were in Normandy, assisting their brother, the count Alençon, in his raids upon his neighbours in the Hiémois, whence a war gradually developed between the parties of duke Robert and Rufus, until the arrival of the king with a fleet from England put an end to hostilities. (Ordericus V., VIII. xvi.)

In 1101, soon after the accession of Henry I., Roger and his brother Arnulph forfeited all their honours and estates, by joining in the abortive rebellion of the count of Alençon, their eldest brother, then also earl of Shrewsbury. William de Warenne, second earl of Surrey, and Robert fitz Ilbert de Laci, were also implicated. Outlawed, and banished from England, the two brothers naturally went to the count, a man of vast resources and wealth, having no less than thirty-four strong castles in his county of Alençon alone; however, they were but ill received by him, though it was to their support of him that they owed all their misfortune. Roger then retired to the castle of Charroux, near Civray, which he possessed in right of his wife, and it is not probable that he ever visited England again. His troubles, however, did not cease, for Hugh the devil, lord of Lusignan, son of his wife's aunt, disputed the county of La Marche with him, and there were

constant hostilities between them, which, as a feud, their descendants continued. Almodis died 1116, but Roger was surviving in 1123, being present at the installation of Clarus, abbot of Ahun. (*Gallia Christiana*, ii. col. 619.) By Almodis, Roger had three sons:—count Aldebert IV., Eudo, and count Boson IV., and the French genealogists say also two daughters, Ponce, wife of Wulfgrim, 'Taillefer' II., count of Angoulesme, and Marquise, wife of Guy IV., viscount of Limoges. Unknown to them was the Sybil mentioned above, and Mr. Planché (*Conq. and his Companions*, ii. 269) suggests that Adeline of Lancaster, wife of William Peverell of Nottingham, was also a daughter of Roger. She was the mother of the second William Peverell, and, surviving her husband, was living, 1131.

The lands of Roger in England were given, with a few exceptions, by Henry I. to his nephew, count Stephen, who afterwards, when king, granted to Rannulf, earl of Chester, by charter, long preserved at Pontefract (*Baronage*, i. 39), all these lands from Northampton to Scotland, except what belonged to Roger de Montebegon in Lincolnshire, and the territory between the Ribble and the Mersey.

In the ratification of this grant, extorted by this too powerful subject from Henry duke of Normandy, heir to the throne, what he obtained is described as "all the honour of Count Roger of Poitou *wheresoever it lay*."¹⁶ However, it is certain Roger de Montebegon retained what he acquired, and, it seems, Robert de Laci obtained the honour of Clitheroe from Henry I., who, by charter, certainly granted Bowland to him, to be held *in capite* as it had been formerly *of* Roger of Poitou (*Baronage*, i. 99). Robert de Rumeli and (Alan?) de Perci seem to have acquired the lands of his fief in Craven.¹⁷

¹⁶ This is the same charter dated at Devizes (1152), and preserved in the Cottonian Coll.; referred to before as giving to the earl also the lands of Erneis de Burun, Robert Malet, and Alan de Lincoln.

¹⁷ Rogerus Pictavensis, a feudatory of the Laci in the time of Rufus, must not be confounded with the count, for though his contemporary and namesake, he was in no way related, and was probably

called so because he was a native of Poitou, which the count was not. He witnessed the foundation charter of Pontefract Priory, and before had given 2 garbs in Altofts to St. Clement's chapel in the castle. The Peytefins (so the name in time got corrupted) of Normanton and those of Burgh-Wallis and Headingley, were, no doubt, his descendants. (See account of them in *Hcr. and Gen.* v. 235.)

ROTBERTUS DE BRUIS.

He is not in the Index List, nor is he named in the 'Recapitulation;' but immediately following the survey of the lands of Roger the Poictevin, we read, "This is the fief of Rotbert de Bruis, which was given him after the Book of Winton was written."

Great interest attaches now to Robert de Bruis, as he was the ancestor of his famous namesake, the unfortunate King of Scotland, whose birth and pretensions brought on him a sea of troubles, which he battled against 'with invincible courage and constancy of mind.'

That Robert de Bruis came from Bruis now Brix near Valognes¹⁸ there is no reason to doubt, and he himself was probably lord of that place; his grandson Adam de Bruis appears to have been so, for in the cartulary of the abbey of S. Sauveur le Vicomte, Mr. Stapleton found two charters (dated 1153 and 5) recording that Peter de Bruis, son of William, gave to that abbey, *inter alia*, the church of Bruis, by the desire of Adam de Bruis his lord and *cousin*. (Bowles' Lacock Abbey, p. 76, note.)

What part Robert took in the Conquest does not appear, nor when he came over, and it is hardly likely he was at Hastings, as so few of those were, who acquired lands *only* in the north. If the document may be entirely trusted, he first occurs in England, in this county, witnessing the charter, which seems to have been made at York, of Hugh earl of Chester granting the conventual church at Whitby to prior Reinfrid (1074-8). It is therefore strange, that he was not rewarded with lands before the date of the Survey ten years or so afterwards, and that he does not occur even as an undertenant. It would seem that directly after the Returns of the Survey had been arranged and transcribed at Winchester, a fief was made up, chiefly in Cleveland and mostly out of

¹⁸ William *de Braiosa*, the great Sussex tenant in Domesday Book, was certainly in no way related to Robert, although actually made his son in the Bruce pedigree in Mr. Drummond's "British Families." He no doubt had his name from Briouze, between Domfront and Falaise, and it was long afterwards that these two names got con-

founded. It is curious, however, that the lion rampant (azure, or field of that tincture), the arms of de Bruis, should also have been used once or twice by the descendants of de Braioze. In the above splendid work may be seen an ingenious, but no doubt fictitious, descent for Robert, from the Norse earls of Orkney, also printed in Ord's "Cleveland."

lands as yet reserved by the king, and given to him. In Ormsby (12 carucates), Danby (6 car.), where a castle was built, either by Robert or his son, and lands in many other places in the same district; manors, no doubt, though not styled so. In the East Riding earl Morkar's great lordship of Burton, with soke and berwicks, formerly rated at 24*l.*, twenty-five carucates being taxed; in Burnhouse (Kirk Burn) and Tibthorp 32 carucates of land (but part of this is of the fief of *Robert Fossard*);¹⁹ lands in several other places in the East Riding, and in Burghshire, now Claro Wapentake in the West Riding, were added. But Skelton, where either Robert or his son built or found a castle which he made the caput of the barony together with Guisborough, where a priory was afterwards founded, and other lands in Cleveland belonging to the earl of Mortain at the time of the Survey, must have been acquired after the count's banishment in 1088 or his son's final forfeiture in 1106.

When he died is not recorded. It is not very likely²⁰ that he was the Robert de Bruis so constantly attending Henry I., or the 'venerable' Robert de Bruis who was at the battle of the Standard, 1138, and died three years after (11 May, 1141). That was, no doubt, his son and successor, who was about the same age as David, king of Scotland (born 1080), for they had been "brought up together" at court. He appears to have had another son, the William de Bruis, father of Peter,²¹ who gave the church of Bruis to the abbey of S. Sauveur as before mentioned.

It was, then, Robert II. who founded Guisborough priory, gave lands to the monks of St. Mary's and Whitby, and to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. He married Agnes, daughter of Ralph (not Fulk) Paynel, by whom he had,

¹⁹ Robert Fossard was the son and heir of Nigel Fossard, who held so many of the count of Mortain's manors in this county, and must have died in the interval between the date of the Survey and the insertion of this passage. Robert de Bruis may have married a daughter of his. Two daughters married Jordan and Alexander Paynel (v. Rad. Paganell).

²⁰ All but impossible if it were he who witnessed the earl of Chester's charter (1074-8), but supposing him to have

been 25 at the date of the Survey, he would have been 80 when he died in 1141. This matter must be left in doubt until decisive evidence be forthcoming.

²¹ This is the Peter of the Fountains Cartulary, who had married Agnes, daughter of Stephen earl of Albemarle and Holderness, widow of William de Roumare (ob. 1152). Dugdale mistook (*Bar.* i. 449) him for the younger son of Adam and Ivetta. See Mr. Stapleton's note.

Adam de Bruis, whose wife was Ivetta de Arches (v. Osbern de A.). By another wife, heiress of Annandale in Scotland, it is said, he was father of Robert (ancestor of the king), who, being with king David, was opposed to him in the battle of the Standard.

Arms. This family bore at an early date a lion rampant azure, which the Scottish branch moved up into a chief and placed a saltire in the field. The saltire must have been adopted from either the heiress of Annandale or from Isabel of Huntingdon, in whose right Robert Bruce claimed the throne of Scotland. The saltire cross of St. Andrew, the national emblem of Scotland, became associated with the Norman name of Nevill when Robert fitz Maldred, of the line of earl Gospatric, married the heiress, and it superseded the former canting device of the Nevills—a skiff, called in Norman French “*Navile*,” which appears on the seal of Henry de Nevill, t. of John.

In addition to the foregoing Sir Henry Ellis has included in his Index to the Tenants in capite, the following, to whom had been granted houses in the city of York, but nothing else in this county. They were probably farmers of the tolls, or crown officials of some sort, and so, distinct from the burgesses of the city. The account of York in the Survey is neither so full nor so explicit as that of Lincoln and some other towns.

NIGELLUS DE MONNEVILLE ‘has’ the house of a certain moneyer in York, but occurs nowhere else in the Survey. He was the son of Ralph de Monteville (a vill in the Roumois), who was a party, with Helisendis his wife and Hugh fitz Baldric (q. v.), to the deed of his kinsman Gerold (de Roumare), ‘soldier of Christ.’ Ralph’s sons, Ralph, this Nigel, and William, with their mother *Avicia*, gave the churches and tithes of Beaucamp and Anxetot to the abbey of St. George de Boscherville,²² founded by Ralph de Tancardville, the chamberlain of Normandy, to whom this family was also related. William de Tancardville (Ralph’s

²² Stapleton’s Norman Rolls, II. clii. Helisendis was probably Gerold’s daughter, as this also was his wife’s name.

son) and Nigel had married two sisters (see note 38 to 'Robert Malet'), daughters and co-heiresses of William de Arcis, who held Folkestone under bishop Odo. Emma, Nigel's wife, inherited her father's lands in England, as well as Redingfield in Suffolk which her mother (Beatrix daughter of William Malet) had. Nigel de Monville and Emma gave, in 1095, the church of St. Mary and St. Eanswith in Folkestone castle to Lonlay abbey in Normandy, and it was made a priory. (Mon. Angl. vi. 673.) Nigel was living when Henry I. came to the throne and witnessed that king's charter to Tewkesbury abbey (ib. ii. 65), but was dead, not long after, leaving by Emma his widow, who married afterwards Manasses, count of Ghisnes, a daughter and heiress, Matilda, given by Henry I., with the lordship of Folkestone, in marriage to Riwallon de Avranches.

The descent of the house in York is not recorded. The Mundeviles of Berkswell, in Warwickshire, were either descended from a son of Nigel by another wife, or from one of his brothers. (Dugdale's Warwicksh., 491 and 980.)

WALDINUS 'has' two houses in York, and for one, that had belonged to Sterre, he has taken possession of two houses of Ketel the priest. If this were Walden the engineer (ingeniator), who had Willoughton near Gainsborough and eight other manors in Lincolnshire given to him, he may have obtained these for special services in connection with those military works, by which York was strengthened after the city had been retaken from the Danes in 1069. These, we may infer from a passage in the Survey, were executed the year after, under the direction of Hugh (fitz Baldric) the sheriff. William de Perci had a tenant of this name in Lincolnshire. A 'Walding' gave a carucate of land, in Sproxton, to St. Mary's abbey, after 1088. (Henry II.'s Charter, Mon. Angl. iii. 549.)

HAMELINUS (a name formed from Hamo) 'has' one house in the ditch of the city (wall) and this was all; but no doubt he was the same Hameline, whom the jurors found retaining by force lands he had taken possession of in Middleton, in the soke of Driffild (Claims. fo. 273); and perhaps also he was Ilbert de Laci's tenant at Ferry, of this name, which does not occur elsewhere.

RICARDUS DE SURDEVAL 'has' the houses of Turchil and Ravechil. This is the same man, who held so many of the

count of Mortain's manors in this county, and an account of him will be given among the 'Under-Tenants.'

NIGELLUS FOSSARD (the ditcher ? *Fossor*) took possession of two houses in York, "but *it is said* he restored them to the bishop of Coutances," and, it would appear, that he had done so, if they were the same two which further on are mentioned as held or rented by Osbern de Arcis of the bishop. Perhaps from this it may be considered that that celebrated personage, bishop, soldier, and statesman, Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances, ought to have been included among the Yorkshire tenants in capite. His niece's son, Roger de Mowbray, had a great estate in this county, and was ancestor of the dukes of Norfolk. This Nigel was the other great under-tenant of the count of Mortain in this county, and an account of him is also reserved. As his son Robert is mentioned in the Recapitulation, Nigel must have died soon after the Survey was made.

GISLEBERTUS MAMINOT 'has' the three houses which had belonged to Meurdoch. We find, by the Recapitulation of Carucates, that the king, between the date of the Survey and the compilation of this abstract, had given him one carucate in Thorpe (near New Malton?). This is all he held in capite ; but he held three virgates (about 180 acres) in the royal manor of Windsor (56 b.), being probably a sergeant or official of the court or castle. Under Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, he held two manors in Kent and Lechamptstead, Bucks. Afterwards it is said he had Deptford, near London, and other lands given to him, to be held by the service of castle-guard at Dover, and he himself built a castle at Deptford (now Say's court) which he made the caput of his barony. The descendants of Geoffrey de Say, who married his great granddaughter and heiress, bore, Quarterly or and gules, which, Hasted (*Hist. of Kent*, i. 2 and 118) says, they adopted from the 'Magminots.' Gilbert was no doubt nephew of Gilbert also called 'Maminot,' one of the king's chaplains and also his physician, bishop of Lisieux, 1077 (ob. 1096). The bishop had three manors in Gloucestershire given to him, which Hugh Maminot, doubtless another nephew, held of him. The bishop was son of Robert de Courbépine, a brave knight, and Ordericus (v. iii.) gives a graphic description of him. Ralph de Courbépine, (father of this Gilbert ?) held several manors in Kent of bishop Odo,

which came, Hasted says, mostly to Gilbert. A place called Curbespine (from a crooked thorn) near Bernai, in the département of the Eure, was the fief of this family; whence its name, and not from any personal deformity. Hasted makes out that Walkelin Maminot, who garrisoned Dover for the empress against Stephen, 1138, was a son of Hugh son of this Gilbert.

HUBERTUS DE MONT CANISI had the house of Bundus in York, and, in Suffolk, the manor of Wyverston (near Ixworth), and this was all he held in capite; but, as under-tenant to Robert Malet, he held lands in two if not more places in that county. He witnessed Robert Malet's charter founding Eye priory, and himself gave his inn (hospitium) and land at Jakesley to it. (Mon. Angl. iii. 405.)

According to a pedigree of Montchensy in Harl. MS. 2188 (fo. 69), Hubert had a son Warin, whose heirs male continued until 1287; but Hubert de Montecaniso of the Pipe Roll, 1131, and benefactor to Thetford priory (Mon. Angl. v. 149) was more probably his grandson. One of this family, Warin de Montchensi, was so wealthy, he was called the English Cræsus, and, according to Camden, died worth 200,000 marks.

The name of Hubert Walter, the celebrated archbishop of Canterbury, may be traced to this tenant in capite.

LANDRICUS CARPENTARIUS has been presumed to be the same as Landric the king's thane, to which refer.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

BEFORE closing these notes a few additional remarks seem desirable, in order to rectify errors and clear away ambiguities which, to the regret of the writer, have escaped the less careful scrutiny of a first perusal.

The ecclesiastical dignitaries have been but briefly noticed, chiefly because justice has already been done to their memory elsewhere. The best account of the Archbishop of York will be found in the '*Fasti Eboracenses*' of canon Raine. He is considered to have been a son of Osbert, a canon of Bayeux, but Mr. Planché (Companions of the Conqueror, ii. 272) cites a charter of the king, which Archbishop Thomas witnessed as '*filius regis*,' and infers that he was a natural son

of the Conqueror ; if so, he must have been very young at the time. Simeon of Durham may be referred to for an account of the bishop of Durham. Leobwine was not *dean*, as stated, p. 119, but bishop's chaplain. For 'abbot Ebsi,' p. 120, read 'Elfsi.' (See Anglo-Saxon Chron. A^o 1013.)

Of the two abbots, a fuller account might have been given, as their lives were less known. The date of Saint Mary's abbey is given by Simeon of Durham as 1078, but that seems too early.

Further particulars of abbot Benedict of Selby will be found in the notices of Goisfridus de la Wirce, p. 225, and of Erneis de Burun, p. 240 ; a full account, well told, of his personal adventures, realised schemes and hopes, but bad end, would be very interesting.

In the account of 'Hugo Comes,' p. 126, for 'sheriffs' read 'bailiffs' of earl Harold.

'Alanus Comes' is mentioned by the Norman French rhyming Chronicler, Master Geoffrey Gaimar, but the passage cannot be accepted as evidence that he was at the battle of Hastings. He was however earl of the East Angles in 1081, and possibly up to his death, and was buried at Bury St. Edmunds, within his earldom. He was to have married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, who afterwards became queen of Henry I. (Ord. Vit. VIII., xxii.)

In 1083, Earl Alan the Red was in Normandy, and left by the king in command of troops in a fortified camp, to check the raids made by Herbert, viscount of Maine, from his impregnable fortress of Ste Suzanne ; but the garrison of the camp proved inferior to that of the fortress, both in valour and in number. Hervey, who succeeded the earl in this post, may have been his tenant of that name. (Ib. vii. x.)

Berengar de Toeneye survived the Conqueror and was a witness to Ivo Taillebois' charter to Spalding Abbey, between 1087-92. (Mon. Angl. iii. 217.) The Buckton at which he had his most valuable estate appears to have been some place, now lost or absorbed in some other place, in the neighbourhood of Settrington, near New Malton, and not Buckton (in Bridlington) as stated, p. 137.

Ilbert de Laci had probably acquired his fief before the Conqueror's detention for three weeks in November 1069, by the floods in the river Aire, which rendered the passage of the stream impossible, at the point where the Roman Road,

Watling Street, had formerly crossed it by a stone bridge. If the piers of this bridge were still remaining, the check must have been very tantalizing to the king, who was in haste to relieve York : he would not, however, allow his engineers to construct a bridge, presumably a wooden one—for there is no evidence to show that, after the departure of the Romans any one could have built a stone bridge—as he thought such a course inexpedient. (Ord. Vit. IV., v.)

It may be inferred the site of the castle was fixed upon at this time by Ilbert, under the advice of the king and his engineers for the protection of this important passage of the river, and that it was named from this broken bridge.

There can be no doubt he was the 'Ilbert' who held so many of the bishop of Bayeux's manors in Lincolnshire ; for he held under him (and in these instances his name is given in full) also lands in Oxfordshire and Bucks. In the latter 'Tedenwiche' (fo. 145) now Tingewick near Buckingham, I have been able to identify as the 'Tuiswicz' of his interesting charter referred to p. 140. This grant was not known to Lipscomb (Hist. of Bucks, iii. 123). The monks of the Holy Trinity of the Mount, it seems, subsequently increased their property there, and retained the manor and advowson until 1375. These formed part of William of Wykeham's endowment of New College and Winchester College, and thus this charter came into the archives of the latter, where it still remains.

It was *Guillebert* and *Henry* de Lacey who were holding the fief of Lassi of the bishop of Bayeux, *not Ilbert* and *Gilbert* as stated, p. 133. (D'Anisy's Chartes Anglo-Normandes, ii. 428.)

Roger de Busli. As they were identical in plan, Tickhill castle should be compared with Lincoln castle built before the Survey, on a *new* site, for 136 houses had been raised to clear the space. See Lincoln volume of Proceedings of the Archæological Institute.

Robert Malet must have succeeded his father in 1071, not 1069, as stated, p. 147. As a family called de Gerardville was enfeoffed of lands in Suffolk by the Malets at an early date, it is therefore probable they were already possessed of their fief (Graville—*i.e.* Gerardville) in Normandy,

where they continued for so many generations. William Malet, 'my heir,' Robert and Ralph, *his* brothers, and William, 'my nephew,' witness a charter of Gilbert Malet, who styles himself 'dapifer regis.' (Glover's Colls., quoted by Mr. Planché, *Companions of the Conqr.* ii. 99.)

William de Tancardville was not chamberlain of Normandy *jure uxoris*, as in note 38, but inherited the office from his father.

William de Perci witnessed the charter of Osmund, bishop of Sarum, dated 1091, with the king and those attending the court at the time, Ralph Paynel among them. (*Mon. Angl.* vi. 10.) He died in June, 1099, if he were with duke Robert and the crusaders when they arrived at Mountjoy in sight of Jerusalem.

Goiffrid de la Wirce and William de Perci, among others at the king's court, witnessed Rufus' charter for Remigius bishop of Lincoln, dated 1090, at Lincoln (?) (*ib.* vi. 1271).

Gilbert Tison was represented by *the families of* Constable and Belver, not Constable Belver, as stated at p. 236.

Richard Fitz Erfast was, it seems, the son of Arfast, bishop of Thetford, named in note 36, for William Bigot, the king's dapifer, confirmed, in the reign of Henry I., to Thetford priory, founded by his father, "all the lands and tenements that were bishop Arfast's and *his son Richard's*, in Thetford, both within and without the town," given by Hugh Bigod. (*Mon. Angl.* v. 149.) Erfast had come over with the Conqueror as one of his chaplains and been made bishop of Thetford, 1070.

Erneis de Burun.—The reference to the charter²³ in *Gallia Chr.* should be (XI. Instr. col. 97.) The poet has at last made this name so famous, that there is some excuse for an additional note. I find the Buron where, in the thirteenth century, there was a cell of the abbey of Fontenay was not Baron or Buron, near Caen, but a very obscure little place, in the parish of Fresnay-le-Vieux on the skirts of the Cinglais forest, perhaps at this time only a single house or 'mesnil.' (*Statistique Mon. du Calvados*, by M. du Caumont, ii. 230 ; not in index.)

²³ In this charter, Robert fitz Erneis II. records, that his father Robert being killed in England (his death at the battle of Hastings is graphically described by Wace), his body was, by command of the king and care of Ralph fitz Erneis, trans-

ported and buried in the cemetery of the (abbey) church of Fontenay, and that afterwards the body of Erneis his grandfather was removed from the cemetery of St. Martin, and honourably interred by that of his father.

The fief of Fresnay seems to have belonged in the Conqueror's time to the family of Taisson, and this confirms the suggestion in the text that Erneis and Ralph de Buron were of this family, and that this was the Buron they came from rather than the other.

Robert de Buron witnessed a charter early in the next century of Joscelin de la Pomeraye to the Austin canons of St. Mary du Val, and to them, soon after, Robert fitz Erneis gave the leprose in Le Bois-Halbout, by a deed which the same Joscelin tested, also a house in Caen, and confirmed the donation of his uncle Eudo fitz Erneis. (*D'Anisy's Chartes Anglo-Normandes*, ii. 264.)

As these presumed brothers, Erneis and Ralph, each named a son Hugh, it was probably after their father; and their mother may have been a daughter of Erneis (1060), brother of Ralph Taisson I., founder of the abbey. Some of the Burons remained in Normandy, and the armorial seal of Ralph de Buron to a deed dated 1254 bears an eagle displayed on a shield. (*Ib.* i. 58, and *Atlas*, Plate xvi., seal, No. 23).

Sproatley in Holderness was held in the time of Henry I. of the earl of Albemarle and Holderness, for he confirmed the gift of the church there by Ralph de Gousle and Erneis his brother to Bridlington priory. Ralph had previously given lands here to buy incense for the high altar in York Minster. Ralph, *son* of Erneis, gave two tofts here to the priory, and Robert fitz Erneis of Gousle, it seems, was his brother and heir. (*Poulson's Holderness*, ii. 277.)

Ralph and Erneis were probably sons of Erneis de Buron, of the Survey, and may have relinquished this name for a patronymic as some disguise, after the forfeiture of the Domesday fief.

Among the records of the duchy of Lancaster is a charter of Henry I., dated at St. Albans (1129-35), granting to earl Rannulph of Chester "all the land wheresoever which had belonged to Ernisius de Buru', except that which I gave to earl Alan of the same fief in Eboraschira."

The manor of Bingley was also an exception.

ON RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED AT THORNHILL

By the Rev. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH, of Erdington.

THE recent discoveries at Thornhill are of unusual interest. From the information of Mr. Edwards, (clerk of the works, at the time they were made,) I learn, that:—

I., the shaft of a memorial cross, cut to fit a window-splay, and embedded in masonry of the year 1777, was found on the 24th January last; that, three or four days afterwards,

II., another, covered with several coats of very old white-wash, was brought to light; and that, later still,

III., a fragment of the shaft of another cross;

IV., one of the limbs of a cross, with interlaced ornament on each face and at the end; and,

V., a very small fragment;—
were found in the 15th century foundations of the same wall.

During the course of the summer, at the suggestion of our secretary, Mr. Fairless Barber, the Rev. J. Ingham Brooke, M.A., Rector of Thornhill, ordered the removal of,

VI., a fragment of a cross, somewhat larger than I. and II., from the 15th century wall in the Savile chapel, into which it had been built.

Our good friend, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, who has taken great interest in these discoveries, found amongst the fragments of these old monuments at Thornhill,

VII., small portions of an inscription, and sent them to me, with his usual kindness, at the same time expressing a doubt whether they might not be of the 17th century. He had not thought of putting them together, or he would have seen what they are.

These fragments are indications of the existence of a religious establishment of some kind at Thornhill, perhaps dependent on the venerable mother church of Dewsbury,



Fragments of Crosses found at Thornhill, referred to under Nos. III., IV., V. and VI., p. 416.

as early as the 8th century. They are all of the local sandstone. They have much less ornament than monuments of this kind usually have ; in fact, the decoration of I. and II. is confined to the front of each, the back and sides being simply panelled ; and on III., and the back of VI., we have only vertical lines ; this style of work I have not noticed elsewhere. The design on the front of VI. is particularly good, and the knot-work of IV. is well designed, though not quite correctly executed ; it is not unlikely that these are parts of one monument.

Before entering on an examination of their inscriptions, I wish to say a few words about one of those at Dewsbury, belonging to the same class as these ; with the object, not only of comparing it with them, but also of correcting some misapprehensions with regard to it, into which I fell in my notice of it twenty years ago. For the most accurate delineation of it we are indebted to the Rev. J. T. Fowler, who has noticed it in the pages of our Journal,¹ restored the letter **a**, at the beginning of the sixth line, (a letter, as I believe, nearly destroyed by the first stroke of the spade, which brought it to light), and supplied the faint traces of three letters on the upper edge of the fragment. The two last of these would, of course, be **be** ; then, at a distance which would allow of rather more than two, but scarcely three, letters intervening, there was probably **e**. **dil** seems better to fill the space than any other restoration I can suggest, and would give us a name, which we actually have on one of the Thornhill fragments. Thus the inscription, arranged in stave-rhyme, will read :—

[—— dis settæ	[——— this set
æfter edilbe]rhtæ	after Ethilbe]rht,
becun æfter beornæ	a beacon after the prince,
gibiddad daer saule	pray for the soul.

The use of **d** for **þ**, as on the Falstone monument, and in Ven. Bæda's transcription of Old English names, (**ʒibiddaþ þær saule** being a more correct representation of what is intended by the last line), and the character of the writing, (precisely such as we have in S. Cuthberht's Gospels and other MSS. of the same age), concur to determine the age of this monument as the 7th or 8th century.

¹ Vol. i., p. 223.

The mistake which I made was translating **beornæ** "child." The words **beorn** and **bearn** are very much alike, but I have observed that **bearn** usually designates "a child," and **beorn** "a warrior," "a prince," even "a king;" and I know of no exceptions to this. The small size of the letters affords no ground for supposing it to have been a child's monument, for the Falstone inscription, in letters equally small, commemorated a man, and probably the head man of that district.² Then the head of the cross, when complete, must have had a breadth of 20 inches at least, so that the whole would have been a monument of very considerable proportions, and therefore most probably the memorial of some person of consequence.

Now, of the Thornhill fragments, those I have numbered VII. give us part of an epitaph in stave-rhyme, conceived on the same plan as those at Dewsbury and Falstone, but with a remarkable variation; and the lines of the stave-rhyme appear to have been separated by points, as they are sometimes in MSS. (Cædmon, for instance). The remains of the

E·A·EFT
OSBER
TAE·BEC
BER

letters are indubitable, and it is easy to supply what is wanting of the second and third lines. There can be no question, but that we have here fragments of the monument of an Osberht; and of an epitaph, scarcely, if at all, inferior to the royal epitaph of Alhfrith, at Bewcastle. The history of Northumbria, and the catalogue of Kings and princes in the "*Liber Vitæ*," record but one of this name; and the grandeur of this monument seems fully to warrant us in regarding it as his. Now, if we follow the spelling of the name, which his best executed coins present, OSBERCHTAE, we shall have eight letters in the third line, and an average probably of the same number in the others; at the beginning of the inscription there might be seven, and at the end nine. AEFTAER OSBERCHTAE is the second line of the stave-rhyme. The first must have contained, as usual, the name of the person who raised it—and this name must have begun with a vowel,

² It is a curious coincidence, and one which invests this fragment with a particular interest in Northumberland, that it commemorates a *Hroethberht* or *Robert*; and that, of the four clans of North Tyndale—Robson, Dodd, Milborne, and Charlton—the first has always been the

most numerous about Falstone. The two last of course are territorial, not patronymic surnames. This information I received from my late lamented friend, Dr. Charlton, the last time I had the privilege of being in his company.

followed by *DE* (as at Falstone), or *DIS SETTAE*. After the name *OSBERCHTAE* we observe, that this epitaph deviates from the usual formula, and has *BECVN*, followed by a name, of course in the genitive case. The letter which preceded *B* in the fourth line of the fragment might be *A*, *C*, *E*, *F*, *G*, *S*, or *T*. I scarcely think that *BECVN OSBERCHTAE*s would be likely, after what has gone before; nor does it contain a sufficient number of letters. *Becun* may govern the name of the maker—as, for example, the sun is called *beoht beácen 3oder*³—and so may it here. *ECGBERCHT* is a name which will exactly fit, not only here in the genitive, but at the beginning in the nominative; and it is the name of Osberht's successor in the kingdom, under the supremacy of the Danes. We may conclude that *GEBIDDAD DAER SAVLAE* would be the last words of this epitaph; but they could not follow immediately, without something said of the rank of Osberht, or of his relation to the raiser of his monument; all other monuments of this class furnishing some such particulars. So I venture to supply two additional lines of the stave-rhyme, completing the epitaph as follows, and indicating by marks of division the length of the lines on the monument:—

✠ECGBER CHT DIS SE TTAE.	Ecgercht this set
AEFT AER OSBER CHTAE.	after Osbercht,
BEC VN ECGBER CHTAE.	beacon of Ecgercht,
BE ORNAES AE FTAER CYN INGAE.	of prince after king
BEAD OHRORENV.	fallen in fight.
GEBIDDAD D AER SAVLAE .⁴	Pray for the soul.

The English Chronicle records simply the fact of the deposition of Osberht, without stating the cause.

“A. 867. This year the (Danish) army went from the East Angles over Humber-mouth to Eoforwic-ceaster in North-hymbre. And there was much ill-will of that folk amongst themselves, and they had driven out their King Osbryht, and had taken to themselves an unknown King Ælle.”

For the cause we must depend, as far as we can, on authorities of less weight. Douglas of Glastonbury, John of

³ Beowulf, 1144.

⁴ Admitting *OSBERHTAE*, I present
as an alternative:—
✠ECGBER|HT DE SET|TAE.

AEFT|ER OSBER|HTAE.
BEC|VN OSBER|HTAE. CY|NIN-
GAES.
GEBIDDAD D|AER SAVLE.

Brompton, and Geoffrey Gaimar have preserved a tradition of one Beorn or Buern, a sea-farer, having invited Codrinus (*i. e.*, Guthrum), a King of the Danes, to invade Northumbria, in revenge for the violation of his wife by Osberht, and of his relatives having made Ælle King. Matthew of Westminster confirms this story as to the name Beorn and his inviting the Danes, but represents him as huntsman of Eadmund, King of the East-Angles; and the "*Liber Vitæ*," which presents to us—almost the last, amongst the Kings and princes, followed by *Uoenan*, King of the Picts, A.D. 868 to 871—the names of *Beorn* and *Ecgeberct*, who was actually Osberht's successor in Bernicia, seems to supply an additional confirmation as to the name. On account of the discovery at Hexham, some years ago, of a coin with the legend BARNRED RE, I have hitherto supposed that his complete name was Beornred; but a passage in the Annals of Roskild, which speak of two other Kings, Denwolf and Berrwolf,⁵ escaping from the battle in which Osberht and Ælle fell, convinces me that his name was Beornwulf; and the Corpus Christi Cambridge MS. cxxxix., which speaks of Ærnulf or Arnulf, as a sea-faring merchant, in terms which clearly show that he is the person intended by Gaimar and the rest, may be considered as confirming this, though the initial is dropped. It is important, too, that this MS. makes Ælle, not Osberht, the criminal; for, whatever the offence might be which led to Osberht's deposition, or the disaffected setting up a rival King, the length of time which elapsed between Ælle's usurpation and the coming of the Danes, tends to the discredit of the story as far as Osberht is concerned. A.D. 867 (according to Simeon of Durham) was the fifth year of Ælle; when, therefore, the Danes landed in East Anglia, in the preceding year, he had been reigning three full years. He certainly was the object of their coming, though for a different cause. There does not appear to be any reason for doubting the substantial truth of the Norse Saga, which tells us that Ragnar Lothbrog, driven by a storm on the Northumbrian coast, fell into the hands of Ælle, and perished in a dungeon by the bites of venomous serpents, by his command; and that his sons resolved on vengeance the moment they heard the news. Amongst other dates, which are either improbable or impossible, there is one for the death of Ragnar

⁵ See Appendix A.

which is exactly accordant with those of our history, A.D. 865.⁶ For it was in the following year that his sons landed in East Anglia ; late in the year, apparently, for it is said immediately "they took up their winter quarters, and there were they horsed." This explains why they did not land in Northumbria ; for want of horses they would have been at a disadvantage there. They spent the winter in peace, and early in the spring they crossed the Humber and occupied York. But Guthrum, to whom Beornwulf made his appeal, was not one of the sons of Ragnar. As he is mentioned in connexion with their proceedings in 868, he either accompanied or followed them ; but the original motive of his coming might be, as two independent stories appear to represent it, the taking up Beornwulf's quarrel, and so distinct from theirs. Then it does not seem likely that the outrage which occasioned it, could have been committed so far back as A.D. 863.

They landed in East Anglia, but the Northumbrians knew for whom the scourge was prepared ; "and they, late in the year" (it was still A.D. 866, for those who reckoned March 25 the beginning of a new year), "returned to that (resolve) that they would fight against the army, and therefore they gathered a great force, and sought the army at Eoforwic-ceaster."

We may believe that there were three parties in Northumbria ; that of Beornwulf, (with whom Denewulf might be associated), in alliance with the Danes, and the means of their getting possession of York without a struggle ; that of Ælle, against whom their vengeance was directed ; and that of Osberht. The presence of the common enemy had the effect of uniting the two last ; the silence of our annalists with regard to the first is quite intelligible, if they were regarded as having been, as almost certainly they were, in league with the invaders ; and, if they entered into the league to oppose them, their adherence thereto might not be sincere, for they deserted in the hour of trial. To the two last only, Asser—contemporary with the compilation of the English Chronicle, and of equal authority for the events of

⁶ See *Lappenberg*, ii. 31. It is certain that Ragnar was the leader of the Norsemen who visited Paris, A.D. 845 ; and, with this date for a base, comparison of the

English and Irish annals with the "Lothbrokar Quitha" enables us to trace his career with tolerable satisfaction.

this time—alludes in his more circumstantial narrative :—
 “*Consilio divino et optimatum adminiculo, pro communi utilitate, discordiâ illâ aliquantulum sedatâ, Osbyrht et Ælla, adunatis viribus, congregatoque exercitu, Eboracum adeunt.*”

We will allow him to continue the story, as he supplies important matter with regard to the defences of York, which Mr. Clarke has overlooked in his learned paper on the subject, published in our *Journal*.⁷ Such defences, as York possessed at the time, were destroyed, not by the invading Danes, but by the Northumbrians themselves.

“*Pagani confestim fugam arripiunt, et intra urbis mœnia se defendere procurant; quorum fugam et pavorem Christiani cernentes, etiam intra urbis mœnia eos persequi, et murum frangere instituunt: quod et fecerunt; non enim tunc adhuc illa civitas firmos et stabilitos muros illis temporibus habebat; cumque Christiani murum, ut proposuerant, fregissent, et eorum magna pars in civitatem simul cum Paganis intrasset, Pagani dolore et necessitate compulsi, super eos atrociter irrumpunt, cædunt, fugant, prosternunt intra et extra.*”

“The Kings were both slain,” says the English Chronicle, “and the rest made peace with the army.” So also says Asser; and the *Annals of Roskild*, which name the two other Kings, of whom our own say nothing⁸—“*reges Northumbrorum Ielle atque Osbertus, ceciderunt, ac Denwolf et Berrwolf de prælio fugerunt*”—speak also of but one battle; so that I think we must discard the story, which Gaimar and John of Bromton tell us, of Ælle’s having been engaged in hunting whilst the battle was being fought at York, and having fallen in another battle. The peace which followed would secure funeral honours for the bodies of the slain, and the erection of a cross to the memory of each King. Gaimar speaks particularly of Ælle’s cross; this very probably was Osberht’s, and so has great historical interest for us. It is important to note the precise date of the battle, supplied by Simeon of Durham; “*xii Kal. Aprilis, feria sexta, ante Dominicam Palmarum,*” i.e., Friday, 21st March, 867. This would be “late in the year” 866, with those who followed the reckoning above alluded to.

⁷ Vol. ii. 14.

⁸ The spelling *Ielle* has originated, of course, in *IE* expressing the diphthong *Æ*, like Nennius’ *Riëmmelth* for *Ræmmelth*. The *r* for *n* in *Berrwolf* arises from the

similarity of *r* and *n* in some MSS., the Rushworth Gospels for example. These seem to be indications that the *Roskild* annalist was indebted for his information to a MS. written in England.



Cross with Runic Inscription (No. 1.), found at Thornhill.

The writer of the C. C. C. MS. says that Ærnulf lived at York, in Ousegate, near the bridge, but that his wife retired to a property of her own, at Beckwith, 18 miles distant, when he went abroad on business; and that Ælle had a residence at *Ælleswrd*, 6 miles therefrom, and 24 from York. Beckwith is nearly $19\frac{1}{2}$ west of York, and 6 miles therefrom, west by south, there is a place called The Ellers, which is probably what is intended.

Of scarcely inferior interest are the inscriptions on I. and II.—monuments so like one another, that but a few years at most can be the difference of their age. The probably high rank of the individual who is commemorated by the former, and the extraordinary care which appears to have been taken of the latter, preclude the idea that the poverty of ornament on both was a necessity of poverty of circumstances; and the peculiar character of both, and the new words they contain, invest them with an especial value.

I. This inscription is written in tolerably regular runes; but, owing partly to a flaw in the stone, and more to long exposure to weather, it is not very legible. The reading, however, until nearly the end of the third line, is certain, the Rev. J. T. Fowler and I having read it, independently, alike so far; with respect to the last word we differ. It is

✠EDELBE

RCHT : SETTÆFTE

REDELWINI : DRE ING.

There is part of another rune, where the edge of the stone breaks off,

“✠Ethelbercht set after Ethelwini a dring.”

The writer began too boldly, and found, after he had entered on the second line, that the space would not suffice for what he had to write; so he crowded the following runes, and made *Æsc* do double duty as the final of *settæ*, and the initial of *æfter*; and, when he came to the end, joined *Dæg* and *Ræda*, making the second vertical score of the former common to both, and further united the two vertical scores, so as to get *Ethel*; but still was obliged to write *Is* and *Ing* beyond the marginal line. Thus the last word is *Dering* or *Dreing*. The transverse scores of the *Dæg*, though faint, are clear; and that is more than can be said for the character-

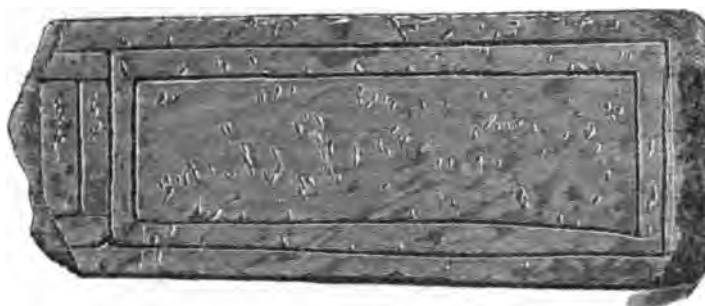
istic scores of some other runes in this inscription, which we can only restore as above, because it is impossible to restore them otherwise. There are but two vertical scores visible where I have written CH, but these are too far apart to allow of my reading simply H; and between them, just where the first score of *Hægil* should be, the flaw in the stone is most serious. The Rev. J. T. Fowler reads ORA, in place of DREING. This word seems to me senseless without PRO ANIMA, or something of the kind following; and I cannot conceive the writer of such an inscription beginning a fresh sentence, which *ora pro animâ* would be, when he manifestly had not room for the first word. An addition such as I read, a title of the deceased, intended from the first, and part of the sentence, might well be crowded in thus, when room was wanting. For my part I am perfectly satisfied that the first letter is D; I see it clearly whenever I take up the casts. As for the *Ing*, I saw it first in a rubbing which Mr. Fowler sent me, and paper impressions and plaster casts since received have only confirmed it.

II. This is perfectly clear and sharp, not a rune doubtful. Mr. Edwards ascribes this extraordinary state of preservation to its having been covered, very long ago, with several coats of whitewash from time to time, and so probably kept in the church. This care for its preservation must certainly be dated very far back, for other fragments of similar memorials were only considered good enough for building materials, in the 15th century. But the writer of this inscription was not so skilful in the use of his graver, as his predecessor, the writer of I. The weakness of his scores at the bottom, and the terrible slips he has made, especially in the last rune of the first line, show that he began his scores from the bottom, and pushed his graver forwards; the scores, too, are unequal, and the runes badly formed. The accidental injuries at the beginning and end are probably quite recent. The reading is

✠EADRED
ISETÆFTE
EATE INNE

“✠ Eadred set after Eata a hermit.”

The initial cross is not of the usual form, but a Calvary cross



Cross with Runic Inscription (No. 11.), found at Thornhill.

raised on a plinth ; no other instance of this has been observed in our inscriptions. Beneath the *Sigil* in the second line there is a short score, evidently intentional, as clearly defined as any of the others. The fourth rune of the third line is II.5 of the futhorc. In a Northumbrian copy of the futhorc, MS. Salisb. 140, at Vienna, its name is *Ih* ; whenever, therefore, I meet with it in a Northumbrian inscription, I have authority for giving to it an *i* sound, none for any other. In a MS. of Isidor, at Brussels, 155, and in a MS. at S. Gallen, it has the same name, and of course the same value. In a Cottonian MS., Galba, A. 2, it is *Eth* (probably for *Ech*), which would give an *e* sound ; and in another, Otho, B. 10, it is '*Eoh*, which would give *eo* ; but these MSS. belong to South England, and consequently have no weight against the Vienna MS., when the reading of a Northumbrian inscription is concerned. At Ruthwell this rune makes a diphthong with *e*, in the word *ælmeittig* ; and on Domgisl's casket it occurs twice in the word *drigith*. Unfortunately the Southumbrian kingdoms have not produced as yet a single monument to justify the value *e* or *eo* ; on the Dover tombstone, the only Southern monument which presents it, it must certainly be read *i* in the name *Gisilheard* ; for *Geosilheard* would be as anomalous as *ælmecottig* or *dreogeoth*.

The word *isete* is very remarkable. It is an indication that the usual prefix *ge* or *gi* was occasionally pronounced *i* ; for here we have an *isete* some centuries earlier than the *iurocte* of the Bridekirk font inscription. This prefix, (with dialectic variants), is common to all the Teutonic dialects, with the single exception of the Norse, in which the only trace of it is preserved in a few words, such as *glīkr* = O.E. *gelic*, Germ. *gleich* "like." Yet, by a remarkable coincidence, at the very time I am engaged in the study of this, my friend Prof. Stephens has communicated to me the following extremely precious Old Norse inscription, recently found at Freerslev, near Fredenborg, in the isle of Sealand. Here we have two instances of it, under the *i* form, in the words *iwucu* and *igraf* ; and this inscription, for reasons to be stated in the Appendix, I refer to the 7th century ending, or 8th commencing, a little earlier than what I regard as the date of that under discussion. I supply a few letters, necessary to complete some words.

IN UK NUN	In and Nun
IT ASCWULF SA[MAN]I	moreover Ascwulf together
IWUCU AFTA	awoke after
ÁR-RUNAR ÐISI	honour-runes these.
ÁSLAIKIA RAISTI STAIN	Aslaikia raised stone.
IGRAF AISINAR	Aisinar graved.

i.e., "These runes of honour originated after In, Nun, and Ascwulf."

In this respect, as far as I know, the Freerslev monument is unique in Scandinavia, as ours in England, of which it is an illustration, as valuable as its discovery is opportune. *Æfte* too, for *æfter*, resembling the Gothic *afta*, *afata*, in an inscription at Istaby, Bleking, Sweden, and *afta* on this from Freerslev, occurs here for the first time on an English monument.

Eate and *inne* are datives from nominatives in—*a*. For such nominatives the oblique-case-endings are—*an* in the Southern dialects; but the Northumbrian monuments, and the glosses, with one exception, have the genitive—*æs*, or—*es*, and the dative—*æ*, or—*e*. The exception is Farmon's gloss of S. Matthew's Gospel. Now Farmon was priest at Harewood, and intended to have glossed all the four Gospels; but the fact that his gloss of S. Matthew presents this, and other striking deviations from the rules of Northumbrian grammar, as deduced from undoubted authorities, affords a fair presumption that he was not of Northumbrian origin; and suggests that he might be, as his name seems to imply, a *peregrinus*,⁹ whose zeal prompted him to translate the Gospels for the instruction of the Wharfedale folk, amongst whom he had settled; and we may believe that he employed Owun, a man more familiar with Northumbrian speech, to complete for him the good work he had begun, when he found his own dialect not fitted for his flock.

The monumental formula, with which we have been hitherto

⁹ His name was *Farmon* or *Furmon*. He writes it *Far*—with the rune of which the name is *mon* in the Northumbrian futhorc. The editor of the later volumes of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, (Surtees Society, vols. 39, 43, 48), has not observed that *Farmon*, in Owun's colophon, is the dative of *Farmon*, nor that *Macreguil* is the dative of

Macregol in the colophon,—"*Macregol dipincxit hoc euangelium: quicunque legerit et intellexerit istam narrationem orat pro Macreguil scriptori*,"—which he has strangely misread. Now *Fara* is "traveller," *mon* "man." Hence I venture to interpret his name "*peregrinus*." For additional notes about him and his book, see Appendix C.

most familiar,—conceived in rhyming couplets, which set forth the names of the raiser of the *becun*, and of the deceased, with their kinship or the rank of the latter, and ask prayers for the soul's repose,—seems to have prevailed through the whole of Northumbria, from Tynedale at any rate to the valley of the Calder. But here we have a formula quite new, and very simple. Though the similarity of the names in each instance—*Ethelbercht* and *Ethelwini*, *Eadred* and *Eata*—is such as to suggest the probability of kindred, it is still not stated; the omission of the usual asking prayer for the soul is very remarkable; and the name of the deceased is followed in each case by a title, expressing his condition in life. These titles deserve particular notice.

Ethelwine's was *dring*.¹⁰ This word is so unusual in old English writings that when it does occur it has been supposed to be of Danish origin. For my part I do not feel disposed to give up to our Scandinavian cousins, and they are too honest to claim, the exclusive right to any part of our common inheritance. Through the kindness of my friend Prof. Stephens, I possess a copy of "Collectanea Anglo-Saxonica," presented by the author, Ludvig Christian Müller, a Dane, to his friend, Finna Magnusen, an Icelander, and enriched with marginal notes by the latter. Neither of these learned scholars makes any claim to *dring*, which occurs in the glossary; the author simply compares it, as he does other old English words, with its correspondents in the Scandinavian dialects. It is most probably of common origin with *dréogan*, "to endure," from the Sanscrit stem *dhri*. The only instance that occurs to me of its use in an Old English Saga is in the now lost fragment which spoke of the death of Byrhtnoth.

Forlet tha drenga sum	Let then one of the drengs
daroth of handa	spear from hand
fleogan of folman	fly from fist,
thæt se tó forth gewat	that it all forth went
thurh thone æthelan	through the noble
Æthelrædes thegen	thegen of Æthelræd.

This was in Essex, and the passage may be regarded as

¹⁰ *Dering* for *dring* would be like *wylif* for *wylf* on Doungial's casket; *dreing* might be a fuller form of *dring*; so that either can be accounted for.

evidence of the currency of the word in that part of England,
at the close of the 10th century.

Drengles are noticed in the "Dom Boc" in Northumberland and South Lancashire. Lappenberg supposes them a class of half-freemen, because they were vassals of feudal lords, not adverting to the fact that the noblest of English race were reduced to a state of vassalage to Norman usurpers, when that record was compiled.

Later still, we have abundant evidence of the use of this word, and of the senses which were attached to it, in Worcestershire, at the beginning of the 13th century, in the noble poem of Layamon, itself more voluminous than the whole aggregate of English poetry anterior to A.D. 1066. Sometimes it seems to denote a warrior simply, sometimes certainly those who were of noble race, most frequently the rank of *Cyninges-thegen*;¹¹ and, by application of the ideas of the state militant to the church militant, we have one instance of a bishop styled *Godes thringe*.¹²

The author of the later recension of this poem, who is supposed to have lived in East Leicestershire, uses the word only once for about a score in the original; usually suppresses the passages which contain it; in other places substitutes some other word for it, *kempes*,¹³ *folk*,¹⁴ *eorl* (for *hehste thringe*).¹⁵ Thus, whilst it was common in Worcestershire, a purely English district, it had fallen into disuse in Leicestershire, a district in which Danish influence undoubtedly prevailed, down to the 11th century,¹⁶ and perhaps later.

In the Old Norse inscriptions, this word always seems to imply a distinguished warrior, a warrior of rank ; it was in fact the equivalent of the later "knight," designating an

¹¹ There weoren nige thusende
thringes northerne
islagen i than dæiye l. 31740.2

Androgien wes ther king,
under him wes moni hæh dring.
l. 12712. 3

Whar beoth mine cnihtes ?
 Fare we swithe to thare sæ
 sele mine dranches ! l. 4523. 5

Vortigern baðe Hengest his dreng
geven him that maide childe.
l. 14377. 8.

Tha wunede beyeonde there Hunbre,
of Hengestes cunne,
in than north ende
drenches sume sixe. 1. 28980. 3

the hatieth kinges
eorles and thringes. l. 14460. l

¹² Line 16981.

13 4525.

14 ,, 10370.

15 „ 6725.

¹⁶ Leicester was one of the five Danish burghs.

order of military nobility ; and the rarity of its occurrence in the few remains of English lore, invests with an especial value the monument which has preserved for us an example of its use, far earlier than the date of the first descent of the Northmen on our coasts.

Eata's title was *inna*. This word is quite new, but its correlatives leave little doubt as to its meaning. From the preposition *in* we have *innan* "to enter," *inn inne* "a chamber," "house," "inn," and *innung*, "a dwelling." Consequently *inna* would be "one who abides within," "one who goes not out." Such were S. Guthlac, S. Cuthberht, and others, recluses, who built for themselves enclosures, beyond which they did not allow themselves to wander. I thought at first that *inna* might mean "an innkeeper ;" and it was not until after I had divined what I conceived to be its true meaning, that I recollected that there was an Eata, who lived at the very time to which I referred this monument ; and who is mentioned under circumstances which render it probable that he was a hermit. In the margin of Simeon of Durham, s. a. 752, we read,—

"Eata obiit in Craic apud Eboracum."

A later notice, in the body of the MS., relating to a distinct personage, s. a. 767, throws some light on this,—

"Etha anachoreta feliciter in Cric obiit, qui locus distat ab Eboracâ civitate X miliaris."

These and other obituary notices, of persons politically insignificant, in Simeon's "Historia," are doubtless derived from calendars of the Church of Durham, and most of them accordingly appear in the "Liber Vitæ." Such personages only would be thus noticed as were held in high esteem on account of holiness of life ; and such notices would necessarily be very brief, as in existing calendars they are found to be ; in such terms as these, perhaps,—

"Eata obiit in Craic ;"

"Echa¹⁷ anachoreta feliciter in Craic obiit ;"

¹⁷ For *Etha* we must certainly read *Echa*, because *Echa* occurs amongst the anchorites in the "Liber Vitæ," fol. 15, four lines below *Balthere*, whose obit Simeon records s. a. 756 ; and is honoured by a particular notice in Alcuin's poem, "De Sanctis et Pontificibus Eboracensis Ecclesie" :—

Claruit his etiam venerabilis Echa
diebus,
Anachoreta sacer, eremi secreta secutus,
Terrenos fugiens jam corpore castus
honores,
Ut cum rege Deo cœlestes possit habere,
Angelicam terris vitam devotus agendo.
Multa prophetali predixit mente futura.

and the chroniclers made such additions as seemed good to them.

A hermitage once established was usually occupied by a succession of hermits. In the life of S. Guthlac, the enquiry of the Abbess Ecgburh,—“Who should be the keeper of the place after him?”—is recorded as if it were a matter of course that there should be such a succession; and such there was also in S. Cuthberht’s hermitage at Farne. Here these successive notices of persons dying at Craic, one of whom is specified as an anchorite, suggest that the other was also, and that they were successive occupants of the same cell.

Now we ought to find this Eata, whose name certainly comes to us from a Durham source, in the “*Liber Vitæ*,” and between *Herefrid* and *Balthere*, who died in A.D. 747 and 756 respectively,¹⁸ we have the names *Æthuini* and *Eadhelm*. After what I have said in a former paper, as to simple and compound names being borne by the same person, there can be no difficulty in admitting Eadhelm as the full name of Eata, and the presence of Eata under this fuller form in that invaluable record. That it is so is rendered almost certain by the name which precedes it; for the abbreviation *Æth* for *Æthel*, as if a slurred pronunciation, is by no means unusual;¹⁹ and so,—as we have before us two monuments of Ethelwine and of Eata, so closely resembling one the other, that we could readily believe them the work of the same sculptor, (although different hands must have written their inscriptions),—we have in immediate sequence, in the interval between A.D. 747 and 756, *Æthuini* (*Ætheluin*) and *Eadhelm* (*Eata*) in the “*Liber Vitæ*.” It would seem then that Ethelwine was one who had abandoned the warrior’s life, and devoted himself to seclusion; or perhaps we may understand *dring* here in the sense in which S. Guthlac is called *Godes cempa*, *Cristes cempa*, (there being no room for another word).

As hermits were by no means numerous in the age to which

¹⁸ “Anno DCCXLVII. Herefridus vir Dei obiit.”—Chronological notes appended to Ven. Bæda’s “*Hist. Eccles.*”

“Anno DCCLVI. Balthere anachoritam sanctorum patrum est secutus.”—*Sin. Dunelm.*

¹⁹ Take for example the names of Æthelred, King of the West Saxons, and his contemporary and namesake, Arch-

bishop of Canterbury. In MS. A. of the English Chronicle, written whilst both were living, the former is called uniformly *Ethered* or *Æthered*, the latter *Æthelred*; whilst on their coins the practice is exactly reversed, the former being *Æthelred* or *Ethelred* (once only *Edered*), the latter *Ethered*.

these monuments belong, (26 only, by the side of 78 abbots, being named in the "*Liber Vitæ*"), the possibility of the identity of our Eata with the chronicled hermit of A.D. 752, suggested the enquiry whether his Craic could have been in the neighbourhood of Thornhill, before I discovered the corroborative circumstances with regard to Ethelwine. Doubtless Crayke, near Easingwold, is intended by what appear to be Simeon's additions, "*apud Eboracum*," "*qui locus distat ab Eboracâ civitate X miliaris*;" but, in my "*Essay on the Coins of the Danish Kings of Northumbria*," I have shown reasons for distrusting Simeon's additions to the authorities that were before him. Referring to the map, I found, not indeed *Craic*, but its synonyme, *Crow*, marking a district west of Thornhill of about 2 miles in extent,—Crow royd 1½, Crow croft 2¼, Crow wood 3, Crow royd wood 3½ miles distant. Ancient local names have been occasionally replaced by their equivalents; ex. gr. the *Earnanæs* of Beowulf is now represented by *Eaglescliff*, and so this *Crow* may well represent an ancient *Craic*.

In the struggle for life, amongst the old names of the crow, *crake* seems to have been particularly unfortunate. Another century, perhaps, may exterminate it, even in the Yorkshire dales, its last retreats in England. It is as rare with us now, as Varro tells us that *gracus* (its representative) was in Italy in his days. I do not find it applied to a crow in any of the glossaries published by the Record Commission,²⁰ or collected by Mr. Wright for Mr. Mayer;²¹ but a comparison of these glossaries shows that it was a recognised synonyme for *corax*; *nycticorax* being translated—

- nyght-crake** in MS. Reg. 17 cxvii., British Museum.
nyght-craw „ MS. penes J. Mayer (Lincolnshire dialect.)²²
næct-hræbn „ MS. at Epinal.
niht-hræfn „ MS. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.
niht-remn „ Ælfric's Vocabulary.
nyte-rawyn „ MS. penes Marquis of Conyngham.

The first of these is probably of North English origin, since it contains several words peculiar to our Northern

²⁰ Appendix B to Mr. Cooper's Report.
²¹ "A Volume of Vocabularies" (privately printed, 1857).

²² This MS. Mr. Hesleden, of Barrow-on-Humber, informed me (in 1845) had

formerly belonged to Thornton Abbey. It was then in his possession; exhibited by his permission at the Winchester Congress of the B.A. Association; afterwards purchased by Mr. Mayer.

dialects. "Night crow" is said to be the usual word in Yorkshire now.

We have, however, curious evidence that *creyke* was recognised in Yorkshire in the middle age, at the time when the arms were adopted by the family who derived their name from Creyke, in the description of their arms, as certified to Sir William Dugdale, but borne long before his visitation :—

"Per fess, argent and sable, a pale and three creykes (alias crowes), counterchanged ; crest, a creyke (alias crowe), sable, with wings elevated."

This concerns Central Yorkshire. In our days it survives in Craven, in Swaledale, and the neighbourhood of Whitby ; and the local names Cracoe and Creyke have been preserved in those parts of our county which have longest retained the word in their folk-speech ; whilst, as I imagine, its early disuse in the West Riding occasioned the local name in the neighbourhood of Thornhill to be changed.

Teucer, an exile from his native Salamis, was assured—

"Ambiguam tellure novâ Salamina futuram ;"

and I suppose it has in all ages been quite natural for the cadets of families, moving away from ancestral homes, to bestow the dear old names on their new settlements. Something of this spirit may perhaps account for the curious fact, that there is the site of an "Armitage chapel" in a "Crow wood," midway between Spofforth and Wetherby. Perhaps, on account of population increasing around, or from some other cause, the *inna* of the hermitage near Thornhill thought fit to abandon his retreat, and sought a more secluded home elsewhere. At any rate these names seem to connect Craic and its anchorets with what I have noticed about Thornhill.

And now, perhaps, we may be able to account for the peculiar characteristics of these monuments, above adverted to. The deficiency of ornament is quite consistent with the memorials of those who had secluded themselves from the world to lead lives of absolute poverty, and rigid self-denial. The absence of a request for prayers for the soul's repose may be accounted for by parallel instances in later times, of which it will suffice to specify one. In the Chapter-house at Fountains, the epitaphs of the abbots follow one formula,

"Hic iacet N. abbas de Fontibus." A request for prayers was needless there, where at each meeting of the community, morning and evening, a special commemoration of its departed members was part of the rule ; whilst in a church or cemetery, which might be visited by those who were not bound to such observance, or on the monuments of those who were not aggregated to such community, such a request, in one form or another, would be appropriate in epitaphs. So I would suppose that the burial place, in which these monuments were set up, belonged to a religious community.

The memory of Eata, probably, was held in particular veneration, and on this account was named in the Calendar whence the record was transferred to Simeon's Chronicle, as that of Echa was, later. On this account, too, his monument might be preserved within the church, and so has come down to us, broken indeed, but scarcely injured at all by the tooth of Time. So the stone cross of S. Æthelwald, first raised at Lindisfarne, was carried about by the brethren in their weary wanderings from place to place, until at length it found a home at Durham, and there remained venerated for his sake, until the reign of the sacrilegious spoiler.

Having had occasion to refer to the story in the C. C. C. MS., and to its superior trustworthiness, as fixing on Ælle the guilt of the crime which other writers have laid to the charge of Osberht, it has occurred to me (whilst revising proofs), that I ought to lay before my readers the character of its evidence, and the grounds on which it may be accepted as a true statement of facts. This I have done in an addition (D) to my Appendix.

APPENDIX.

A. HAVING made, in my "Essay on the Coins of the Danish Kings of Northumbria," their history a particular study, and having endeavoured faithfully to compare all the documents I could find relating thereto, I cannot account for my having so long overlooked the important evidence which this passage of the 'Annals of Roskild' supplies. Now that I am

satisfied on their evidence, compared with that of the C.C.C. MS., that the full name of Beorn was Beornwulf, I can no longer claim a home in Northumbria for the Hexham coin, on any other ground than that it was found there, and alone; therefore probably lost by some private person, and so current money of that district. Had it formed part of a hoard, like that at Cuerdale, collected from all parts, there would have been no such ground for claiming it. The moneyer's name, CERED, seems to be the same as that of Ela's coin, CLRED, (both probably intended for CELRED). As these annals enable us to add two names, albeit of usurpers, to our Northern history, it is not improbable that this coin may present that of another, who made pretensions to the throne during the troubles which led to, or followed, Ælle's usurpation; or, as I have hitherto supposed, of the King who was set up by the Danes in Deira (contemporary with Ecgberht in Bernicia),—when they abandoned Northumbria to prosecute their campaigns in the South of England,—but distinct from Beornwulf.

However, by the aid of this passage, I can rectify my attribution of another, and a very interesting coin, from the Cuerdale hoard; a coin which I first met with in the collection of Dr. Moore, of Preston, in 1842, and which I have noticed in my *Essays on the Coins of Ælfræd and of the Danish Kings of Northumbria*.

Obv.: DENE VLF RXX+ (the second part of the name inverted), Victory hovering over two Emperors seated.

Rev.: LONDONIA in monogram.

The obverse type is the same as that of the reverse of a beautiful penny of Ceolwulf II. of Mercia, A.D. 874, found in the same hoard. The reverse type seems to have been in use in London during the greater part of the reign of Ælfræd, having first been devised for the coinage of his brother Æthelræd, who died A.D. 871. To this year, therefore, we can trace it, but there is no reason why it might not have begun some years earlier, as the coin before us warrants us in supposing that it did. The natural reading of the obverse legend is DENEVLF; and so I read it for many years, until, unable to find a King of the name, I ventured to transpose the elements, and read ALFDENE. Now that I have found such a King, I return to my first reading. The coins with which I have compared it, have their legends ar-

ranged just as I now read this ; EDENAT for EDETAN, CSIEFR-XERSVDE for CSIEFREDVS REX (the latter half inverted), so also a moneyer's name is sometimes treated *e. gr.* WYNESIS for WYNSIGE on an Exeter penny of Æthelræd II.

As bearing the name of a Northumbrian King, this unique penny belongs undoubtedly to the Northumbrian series. To account for its reverse type, it is not necessary to suppose that Denewulf accompanied the Danes in their southern campaign, and their occupation of London, A.D. 871-2. In those days, types of coins were copied, without reference to fitness, in places far away ; and even the dies themselves travelled about, in the hands of moneyers, as widely as the Viking hosts. Thus imitations of the coins of the West Saxon Ælfræd, the East Anglian Æthelstan, and the Northumbrian Cnut, were made at Quentavic in France ; and thus we have coins, minted in Dublin, bearing the name of Æthelræd II., who never reigned there, and others of Sihtric, King of Dublin A.D. 989 to 1029, with names of English mints on their reverses. One of these itself supplies the clue to this enigma ; it bears the legend SIGERIC MŌ WECED, and our Chronicles record the harrying of Wecedport, (*i.e.* Watchet, Somersetshire), by the Danes, in the year before Sihtric obtained the kingdom of Dublin. Doubtless they carried off the moneyer and his dies, and these were used in Dublin, and money bearing the image and superscription of Æthelræd was really money of Sihtric. So also might a London moneyer have migrated to Northumbria, and used inadvertently a London die for the money of Denewulf.

B. On account of the importance of this inscription as an illustration of ours, I think it necessary to state fully my reasons for referring it to the 7th century ending, or 8th commencing.

1. In my memoir "On the Jute, Angle, and Saxon pedigrees," *Archæologia Cantiana*, viii. 43, I have said :— "Nothing less, than the supposition of an invasion and conquest, can account for the extraordinary difference between the ornaments, and armour, and writing, of what Mr. Worsaae calls the 1st and 2nd divisions of the late Iron Age in Denmark ; he dates the 2nd division commencing about A.D. 700 ; I should be disposed to carry it about a century

higher." Now the runes on this monument are of the period of transition from the 1st to the 2nd division; for, though they mostly belong to the 2nd, they have in their company the rune *Wen*, which is characteristic of the 1st; and the rune, which is the initial of *Ascwulf*, must here be read *a*, as it is on a monument at Stentofen, which is contemporary with one of the 1st division at Istaby, since both (in the same district of Bleking, Sweden) commemorate the same heroes.

2. The name *Aslaikia*, (corresponding to our *Oslac*), is of a form which is peculiar to the monuments of the 1st division—*Saligastia*, &c.

3. I consider it morally certain that *In* and *Nun*, who are here commemorated, are the West Saxon King Ine and his kinsman Nun, whose names on their coins are spelt IN and NOONN.

The history of Ine has already engaged my attention, and I think I have satisfactory grounds for believing that his mother was a Scandinavian princess, and that his early years were spent in exile in Sweden; and this monument, from the coast of Sealand, where only a narrow strait intervenes between it and Sweden, is an unexpected confirmation of the following notes, written nearly two years ago.

Speaking of the Welsh stories of Cadwallader, Iuor, and Ynyr, Lappenberg remarks, that "the Welsh historians adopted the policy of purloining from a successful enemy, and skilfully transferring to his British contemporaries, if not to imaginary personages, the object and reward of his battles, the glory and lastingness of his individuality in history." Yet from these falsifying annalists, and from the *Heimskringla* Saga, I think I can gather some outlines of history which our English Chronicle does not supply.

Early in the 9th century, Nennius says, "Osguid, son of Eadlfrid, reigned twenty-eight years and six months. Whilst he reigned a mortality of men came, Catgualatr reigning among the Britons after his father, and in it he perished." He refers to the pestilence of A.D. 664, evidently confounding it with a later visitation.

Early in the 10th century the earliest MS. of the "*Annales Cambriæ*" says, "there was a great mortality in Britain in which Catgualart, son of Catguolaun, died." This is placed under the year corresponding to A.D. 682; its real date must

have been A.D. 681, for Ven. Bæda says that it occurred whilst S. Wilfrith was evangelising Sussex. Thus the two earliest authorities agree in saying that Cadwallader died of the plague in Britain.

For "in which," &c., the later MSS (B. and C.) of the "*Annales Cambriæ*," dating from the 13th century, have these variations :—"For which Cadwalader, son of Catualawn fled to Less Britain," and "King Cadwallader abandoned Britain, and went to the Armoric region."

About the same time the "*Brut y Tywysogion*" commences :—"Six hundred and eighty-one was the year of Christ, when the great mortality happened over all Britain. And in that year Kadwaladyr the Blessed, son of Kadwalawn, son of Catuan, King of the Britons, died at Rome on the 12th of May. And after Kadwaladyr, Iuor, son of Alan, King of Llydaw, reigned, not as a King, but as a chieftain or prince. And he exercised authority over the Britons for forty-eight years, and then died, and Rodri Maelwynawc reigned after him."

For these variations from the older story I think the authors are indebted to the "*Brut*," which was first published in England early in the 12th century, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and to that part of it, (the later chapters of the 11th and the whole of the 12th Books), which I regard as an addition to the original work, made in the 10th century, by a writer who was very imperfectly acquainted with the history of the 6th and 7th centuries.

Now all the versions of the "*Brut*" agree in representing Cadwallader as having fled to Armorica, on account of the pestilence ; as having proceeded to Rome, and as having died there ; but they differ as to the date of his death ; so that either the editors must have added to what they found therein, or some of them must have attempted corrections, each according to his own judgment. They also agree in saying that Alan, King of Armorica, persuaded Cadwallader to send his son Iuor and his nephew Ynyr to Britain ; that these two collected a fleet, sailed to Britain, and carried on war with the Saxons unsuccessfully for 49 years, (Tyssilio has 28).

Caradoc of Llancarvan, however, claims for them the conquest of the territory south of the Avon ; and says, that a battle, which was about to be fought between them and the

King of the Saxons, was prevented by a treaty, whereby the principality of Devon and Cornwall was ceded to Iuor ; and MS. C. of the " *Annales Cambriæ* " adds to the notice in the " *Brut y Tywysogion*," s. a. 721—" the battle of Heil with Rodri Maelwynawc in Cornwall, and the action of Gwarthmaelawc, and the fight of Pencoeed in South Wales, and the Britons were victorious in these three battles "—the words, " Iuor being their leader," but omits the mention of Rodri. The same MS., fifty-two years after the year of the pestilence, has " Iuor, son of Kadwaladyr," as if to mark the date of his death.

Turning now to our own records—on the authority of S. Aldhelm, who was the contemporary and subject of Centwine, Ceadwealh, and Ine—we know that Centwine abdicated and became a monk ; that Ceadwealh succeeded him as heir, resigned, made a pilgrimage to Rome and died there ; and that Ine succeeded him. Ven. Bæda tells us that Ceadwealh reigned two years, resigned A.D. 688, and died at Rome, about thirty years of age, xii. Kal. Maii, 689, (a date engraven on his tombstone, which was extant in the 15th century, and certified by the mention of the week-day and the indiction) ; and that Ceadwealh and Ine were of the royal race of the West Saxons. Moreover, Ine grants a charter, " with the consent of King Centwine," showing that the latter was still living, and that there could have been no revolution, no deposition ; and, in the preamble to his laws, he declares that he acts " with the consent of Cenred my father." Nothing then can be more certain than these facts, that the succession was as stated above, and that these three were of the same royal race.

It is from the English Chronicle, which was digested from older documents, A.D. 894, and embodies especially the West Saxon annals, that we learn how Ine, Centwine, and Ceadwealh, were descended respectively from the three sons of Cyneric ; how Ceawlin, the eldest of those three, was deposed A.D. 592, and died in exile in the following year, (from which time, for four generations, we lose sight of his family altogether, so that they, probably were in exile also) ; and how the succession was then continued in the line of the second son Cutha or Cuthwulf, down to the death of Cænwealh, A.D. 672. Cænwealh's brother, Cwichealm, and Cwichealm's son, Cuthræd, were then dead ; the succession

should have devolved on his younger brother Centwine, but he, probably was too young to reign ; for Cænwealh's queen Sexburh succeeded, (a fact unparalleled in our annals), and reigned for a year. Then, says Roger of Wendover, she was driven into exile by the "magnates" of the kingdom. Ven. Bæda tells us, that under-kings divided the kingdom amongst them, after the death of Cænwealh, for ten years, *i.e.* until A.D. 682. These under-kings were descended from the third son of Cyneric. King Ælfræd, (says Florence of Worcester), said, that Cœnfus, a younger branch of this line, reigned for two years after the death of Cænwealh ; his reign must have commenced immediately in some part of Wessex, for his son Æscwine became king A.D. 674. On the death of Æscwine, Centwine came to the throne A.D. 676. The accompanying genealogy, which also exhibits the succession of those who held the supreme dignity in Wessex, will make all this more clear.

Cænberht, of the elder branch of the line of Cyneric's third son, had the title of King during Cænwealh's lifetime. He died A.D. 661 ; and, immediately afterwards, it is said, that Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, gave Wiht and East Hampshire to Æthelwealh, King of the South Saxons. These must have been Cænberht's dominions, and the gift of them an usurpation of the rights of Ceadwealh. Of Ceadwealh we first hear as an exile in the waste of Chiltern and Hendred (in Berkshire), about A.D. 680 ; then as beginning to strive for a kingdom, A.D. 685, by invading Wiht and killing Æthelwealh ; and, (though then repulsed), completing his conquest in the following year, when Centwine's resignation placed the sovereignty of the West Saxons in his hands. His brother Mul was murdered in Kent A.D. 687 ; and, on his resignation in the following year, the succession to the throne reverted to the banished eldest line of the posterity of Cyneric, in the person of Ine, Ceawlin's fifth descendant.

Now, when we observe that the British annalists of the 13th century discard the statements of their predecessors of the 9th and 11th,—that Cadwallader died of the pestilence in Britain, and assert that he died at Rome ; that Geoffrey's version of the "Brut" dates his death at Rome, on the very day on which it is historically certain that Ceadwealh died there, xii Kal. Maii, 689 ; and that the Welsh "Brut Gruffudd

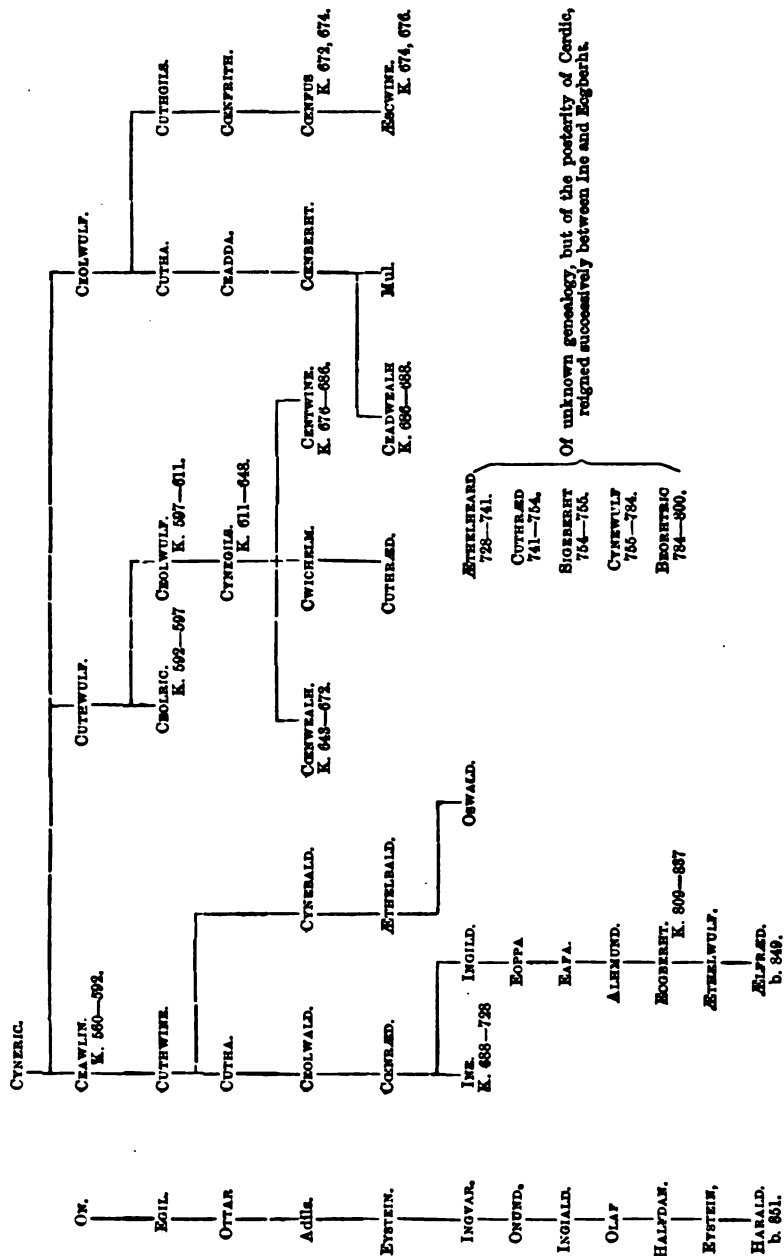
ap Arthur" and the "Brut y Tywysogion" agree as to the day, xii May (evidently intended for the same), though they differ as to the year; we cannot doubt but that the incidents of the pilgrimage and death at Rome have been borrowed from the history of the West Saxon, to embellish that of the British king.

No less certain is it that Ynyr, represented as the nephew of Cadwallader, associated with Iuor in the expedition to Britain, but never again mentioned in the British story, can be no other than the great King of the West Saxons, Ine, Ceadwealh's successor; and the circumstances of the marriage with Æthelburh, Centwine's niece, and the eventual succession to the West Saxon throne, in the British story falsely connected with Iuor, really belong to Ine.

Who, then, was Iuor, whom the "Brut" represents as son of Cadwallader, the "Brut y Tywysogion" as son of Alan? When Nennius says, "I have endeavoured to write some extracts which the broken spirit (hebetudo) of the British nation had cast away, for the doctors of that island, Britain, have had no knowledge, nor have they set down any commemoration in books," I believe he expresses a painful truth; they had no heart to chronicle the misfortunes of their nation. Thus only can we account for the fact, that they have preserved no notice of one who was actually King of the West Britons, during the time that is assigned to Iuor's principality. S. Aldhelm's letter to these Britons is addressed, "*Domino gloriosissimo, occidentalis regni sceptrum gubernanti, Geruntio regi, simulque cunctis Dei sacerdotibus per Damnoniam conversantibus.*" He writes as abbot, therefore before A.D. 704, but he says that he was deputed to write by a synod of the bishops of nearly all Britain; and the synod of Austerfield A.D. 701, was the last such synod before he became bishop. Geruntius was, therefore, certainly King in that year, if not earlier; and he reigned until A.D. 710, if not later; for in that year the English Chronicle has "Ine and Nun, his kinsman, fought against Gerente, King of the Welsh." So there is no room for even the twenty-eight years which Tyssilio assigns to Iuor, as prince of the Britons, successor of Cadwallader. But there was living at this very time a prince of the name, whose history exactly corresponds in one respect with that of the Iuor of these British traditions; a prince of the royal line of Sweden, Ingvar or Ivar Vidfadme. I have

placed his genealogy by the side of the West Saxon, his fifth descendant in the same line with our *Ælfræd* ; and it will be seen that he stands in the same degree as *Ine*. The *Heimskringla Saga*, (a history of Scandinavian affairs, perfectly independent of all English or British authorities), says of him that he collected a fleet, and conquered the third part of England ; and, doubtless, this statement represents a fact, even if the extent of his conquests be overrated. If we identify him with *Iuor*, whose story in the "*Brut*" so remarkably resembles his, we shall have at once, in the history of our country, that correspondence which would otherwise be wanting—*Ceadwealh*, *Ine*, and *Ivar*, together the realization of *Cadwallader*, *Ynyr*, and *Iuor*—and there are some curious circumstances which tend to establish this identification. First, *Ivar* is a purely Scandinavian name. Elsewhere we never meet with it in our annals, until after the great Danish invasion. Then, if the West Saxon *Ine* was, as the "*Brut*" represents him, a cousin of *Ivar*, it would follow that *Ine's* mother was a sister of *Ivar's* father or mother, (I cannot entertain the idea that *Ine's* father was a brother of *Ivar's* mother). That such kindred did exist is extremely probable.

Amongst the descendants of *Cerdic* it was the rule for their names to begin with the letter *C*. In the degree above *Ine* we first meet with exceptions to this rule ; *Ine* and *Ingild* are also exceptions, but their sisters, *Cuthburh* and *Cwenburh*, were not. Each of these departures from a custom, so long faithfully followed, requires the supposition of a marriage, with some lady of a race sufficiently influential to have occasioned it. Thus, the sequence—*Æthelbald*, *Oswald*—and the name of *Ine's* kinsman and successor, *Æthelheard*, naturally lead us to think of a connexion, on the part of *Cynebald*, with some princess of the family of *Æthelfrith* of Northumbria ; and that of *Sigeberht*, *Æthelheard's* second successor, suggests the idea that he was descended, through the female line, from the East Saxon royal race, (amongst whom, for nine generations, beginning with *Sleda*, every name but one began with *S*), and so, perhaps, from *Cœnfus*, whose son had the name of *Æscwine*, *Sleda's* father. Now the names of *Ine* and *Ingild* lead us to Sweden and Denmark. That of *Ine*, unique in England, occurs in an inscription at *Tanum*, *Bohuslan*, Sweden, commemorative of some



bloody feud, or the repulse of some hostile invasion, of which he might be the hero, if of Swedish descent, by the mother's side :—

DRAWINGAN HAIT INAA WAS.
To the Thrawings hostile Inaa was.

Bohuslan is on the coast of Sweden, to the north of Fredenborg.

The line of S. Aldhelm, in which he names Ine,

Quem clamant In incerto cognomine gentes,

is, perhaps, intended to express, that the reason of his having this unusual name was doubtful.

The name Ingild, which never occurs elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon genealogies, is common in Scandinavian story, and in Ivar's pedigree it appears as the name of his grandson. I am satisfied then that Iuor is the Ivar Vidfadme of the Heimskringla Saga, and that the "Brut" has preserved for us the facts of his kindred with Ine, and his expedition to Britain. Perhaps, also, by the help of the "Brut," we may form a probable conjecture, under what circumstances a Scandinavian force, led by Iuor and Ine, could take part in the wars of Britain in the 7th century.

The "Brut" says, that, immediately on Cadwallader's flight, the Saxons invited and received aid from Germany; the Wynnstay MS. adding, that Queen Sexburgis accompanied this reinforcement. The new comers are further said to have occupied all the deserted districts from Albany to Cornwall, and from this time the Britons are said to have lost the sovereignty of Britain.

This mention of Queen Sexburh, banished A.D. 673, now returning, is very important. The period of anarchy mentioned by Ven. Bæda would end A.D. 682, and it is in this very year that the English Chronicle has the solitary record of Centwine's military enterprises :—"Here Centwine drove the Britons to the sea." Florence of Worcester says, they were the "West Britons." Gaimar is more particular, but dates the war in the year of the death of S. Hild, A.D. 680.

E en cet an fu la bataille
Del barnage de Cornwaille
E des Britons ; a ki Kentwine
Fit fuir tresk' a la marine.

If, however, we connect with these the earlier statement of S. Aldhelm, speaking of Centwine,—

tribus gessit certamina pugnis
Et ternis pariter confecit bella triumphis—

it will appear very probable that Centwine commenced the war A.D. 680, carried it on in the two following years, and, with the aid of forces brought by his brother's widow, achieved a complete triumph, and wrested the sovereignty from the Britons, as the "Brut" expresses it, A.D. 682, one year after the date given by the "Brut y Tywysogion" for the flight (*i.e.* the death) of Cadwallader. That Iuor and Ine took part in this war on Centwine's behalf I cannot doubt; and so his conquests with their aid might well be represented in the Heimskringla Saga as the conquests of Ivar. The concurrence of Centwine and Ine in an official act, after the retirement of Ceadwalh, sufficiently indicates the friendly relations that existed between them.

Thus we obtain a clue to the home of the exiled race of Ceawlin, and are enabled to account for their non-appearance in our history for nearly a century. Cœnræd, at any rate, would seem to have wedded a Swedish princess, and the early years of Ine and Ingild would be spent in Sweden. The introduction, too, of the names Æthelbald and Oswald into their family may have originated there; for Eadwine drove into exile the sons of Æthelfrith,—Eanfrith, Oswald, Oswiu, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, and Offa,—A.D. 617; the three first reigned successively in Northumbria after him, but the four last, like the immediate descendants of Ceawlin, are lost to history, and we know not where they found a home.

Such is the substance of notes written nearly two years ago. I could not of course then anticipate either the confirmation of my views which this monument supplies, or the occasion which would render its discovery so important an illustration of our Yorkshire antiquities. In the names of the persons whom it commemorates, and of the person who raised it, it brings together nearly all the elements, the introduction of which into the names of the posterity of Cerdic, in the latter half of the 7th century, has hitherto seemed so strange:—In and Nun, names excessively rare, if indeed they occur elsewhere; Ascwulf, reminding us of Æscwine; and

Aslaikia, possibly even the banished son of Æthelfrith, raising this monument in honour of them, and commanding their names to be graven thereon, when they left the land of their exile for the home of their forefathers, about A.D. 681.

C. It seems desirable to put together such facts as we can, tending to fix the epoch of this Farmon; whom we must place high in the catalogue of Yorkshire worthies, one of the very few parish priests, whose names we know, of the Anglo-Saxon æra.

The identity of Macregol, the writer of the Gospel which Farmon glossed, with "Macriagoil ua Maglena, scribe, bishop, and abbot, of Birr," whose obit the Four Masters record, s. a. 820, is generally admitted. This volume, therefore, does not belong to the same class as the Gospels of S. Ceadda and S. Cuthberht, written in England by pupils of the monastery of Hii; but was written in Ireland about the beginning of the ninth century. Not long after the death of Macregol the monastery of Birr was robbed of all its treasures. S. a. 841, the Four Masters record "a fleet of Norsemen on the Boyne at Linn Ross," (now Rosmaree, barony of Lower Duleek, co. Meath), and "plundering of Birr by the foreigners on the Boyne." The Norsemen were wont to carry off all they could, gold, silver, and books too; for books were precious, and they could readily find a market for them. Witness the remarkable entry in the Golden Gospels now at Stockholm:—"I, Ælfred, aldormon, and Werburg my wife, got this book from the heathen army with our clean money that then was, with clean gold; and that we two did for God's love, and for our souls' need, and because that we would not that this holy book should long abide in heatheness; and now we will to give it into Christ's church, for the praise and glory and worship of God, and for thanksgiving for His Passion, and for the sacred fellowship to use, who in Christ's church daily further God's praise."

In some such way, no doubt, this treasure of the monastery of Birr found its way to the opposite coast of England, and thence, in course of time, to Harewood. But Farmon, most probably, was not priest at Harewood until many

years after that. His name, and that of his friend Owun, are recorded in the "Liber Vitæ;" not in the original text, which was interrupted in 875, but amongst the entries which were made after the Lindisfarne community were settled at Durham, *Faramannus* and *Owinus*. They may be presumed, therefore, to have lived after 875.

Now the clergy were the great artists of the early Middle Age. S. Eligius, a goldsmith, and a moneyer, was also a priest, and eventually a bishop; Bilfrith, the hermit, did the goldsmith's work and jewellery for the binding of S. Cuthberht's Gospels; S. Dunstan, as a priest and monk of Glastonbury, employed the hours, devoted by his rule to manual labour, in goldsmith's work, as well as in writing and illuminating books; and the priests Hawarth and Brand, wrought the Kirkdale dial. So, when we look at the beautiful writing of the priest of Harewood, and the equally beautiful execution of the coins, which a moneyer of the same name minted for King Olaf, who reigned intermittently in Northumbria from A.D. 940 to 951; cognizant of the fact that the name is so rare that it never occurs elsewhere in England;²³ and remembering how varied accomplishments a priest of that age could combine; we may be allowed to indulge the idea that the priest and the moneyer were one and the same person.

The coins are of two types:—

1. ✠ONLAF REX, round a small cross;
✠FARMON MONE;
2. ✠ANLAF CVNVNC, round a triquetra;
✠FARMAN MONETA, round a standard.

On the former an s or a t follows the King's title; on the latter we have an H, L, or S, or a crown and the word *Lago* for L. I have already assigned the t coins to Tadcaster. The fragment of a memorial of a King Onlaf, at Leeds, and the coins of Neil, which seem to have been minted there, evidences of its importance in the age of the Danish kings, enable me to claim for it the coins with L. No place, probably, in Yorkshire has a fairer claim to those

²³ I have supposed his name to have been derived from the circumstances of his life. Names such as this we do occasionally meet with, but not often. Thus *Dreng*, which has engaged our attention above, was the name of a moneyer of Æthelræd II., at Lincoln; and *Huscarl*

and *Wicing* are moneyers of Eadweard the Confessor at Leicester and Exeter. The circumstance which occasions my suspicion that this was the case with Farmon is this, that his dialect was not that of the country which was the scene of his labours.

with s than Sherburn, which is believed to have been a royal residence when Northumbria had its own kings. Then, if my fancy be well founded, that the moneyer Farmon was priest at Harewood, the H coins may be believed to have been minted by him at home, in his own parish. Thus a parallelogram of about 13 miles by 9 will include all the four.

D. This story comes to us in a MS. of the twelfth century, but it is certainly a recension of one of the tenth. There is much in it, the substance of the story, which could scarcely have originated later than the tenth; and much more, declamatory verbiage *usque ad nauseam*, which smacks rather of the twelfth. From this verbiage the procœmium is comparatively free; I italicize a few words which seem to be of the same stamp.

“Domino et patri — venerabili atque amando, aliquis, unus Deo famulantium, salutem et pacem.

“Plerique modernorum, sanctissime pater, licet persecutionem audiverint quam per Angliam exercitus quondam Paganorum exercuit, eo tempore quo sævissimi hostes Iwar et Ubba duces Paganorum ecclesias in ea pariter ac cœnobia destruxerunt, tamen adventus causam, *vel ipsius causæ materiam, seu etiam originem materiæ*, plurimos antiquorum latuisse, præsentiumque latere, non dubito. Hanc vero mihi tua paternitas non solum narrando aperuit, verum ut scribendo memoriæ commendarem iniunxit. Ego autem merito ac iuste tam sancto patri, tam illustri viro, parere debeo, et tamen invitus scribo ne dicor præsumpsisse; sed ob hoc solum voluntatem adhibeo, ne tibi videar inobediens esse. Sed qui tot familiares, tot præcipue amicos habes; qui et ipse tam præclarâ sapientiâ polles; cur me novissimum ad primas sedes erigere, et dignum abscondi conaris exerere?”

The person to whom this is addressed was certainly a bishop, for none but a bishop could be addressed “sanctissime pater;” and the original writer must have been one of the clergy of his church. The name of the latter is blank, perhaps because defaced in the original; the latter calls himself “aliquis,” from motives of humility. The see of the bishop would seem to have been York, for he was intimately acquainted with the topography of the story.

He knew the town residence of Ærnulf: "Eboraci iuxta pontem fluminis quod Usa dicitur, vico qui ab eodem flumine vocabulum tenet." He knew his country-house, its distance from York, and from the King's abode: "mulier rura petens ad quendam possessionis locum perrexit; Ælle quoque circa id tempus morabatur non longe ab eadem villâ, apud quondam videlicet suam mansionem, sex inde miliaris distantem, quam et ipse construxerat, et de suo nomine Ælleswrdam nuncupaverat; hæc autem mansio regis xxiiii ab Eboraco distat miliaris, Becwida vero xviii, per eandem viam; Becwida vero dicebatur illa mulieris possessio." It seems as if he had related this story after the time of the Danish kings had ceased; and yet a century seems a fair limit for the preservation of such a story by private tradition alone. Lastly, there must have been something, in the circumstances of his family, which enabled him to preserve a tradition, which was not known to others, or had been forgotten.

Now it seems to me that the first Archbishop of York, after the Danish dominion ceased, was precisely the man who was likely to have preserved such a story. Archbishop Wolstan had been deposed, and imprisoned in Jedburgh in 952, because of his adherence to the Danish interest, and infidelities to the West Saxon Kings. In 954 he was released, and made Bishop of Dorchester, in the room, it would seem, of Oskytel, ("vir reverendus," as Florence of Worcester styles him), who had been bishop of that see since 949, and had been translated to York. Oskytel died in 971, and was buried at Bedford by his kinsman Thurkytel, who was abbot there. He was certainly a Dane, probably chosen, as likely to be acceptable, on account of his nationality, to the Danes at York; possibly a descendant of the King Oskytel, who was associated in the Conquest of Mercia in 874 with Guthrum, whom Beornwulf invited to England. As his see had been Dorchester, and his kinsman's abbey was at Bedford, his family was probably settled in Mercia. So in his family a tradition might well have been preserved, which the Northumbrian Angles had not cared to perpetuate; and this tradition, on his coming to take possession of the see of York, he could communicate to his clergy, and command to be committed to writing. The corruption of the name Beornwulf to Ærnulf or Arnulf, would not be surprising in a story so preserved.

On account of these characteristics of the original narrator of the story, (all which I had noted before I observed how exactly they fitted Archbishop Oskytel), I cannot hesitate in expressing my conviction that this story tells, as far as it goes, the true origin of the share which Guthrum had in the Danish invasion ; that Ælle was really the culprit ; and that Gaimar's story, as far as it implicates Osberht, is false. It is quite independent of, and by no means inconsistent with, the Norse story of the object of the sons of Ragnar.

REPORT

READ AND ADOPTED AT THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE ASSOCIATION HELD AT HUDDERSFIELD THE
TWENTY-SIXTH DAY OF JANUARY, MDCCCLXXVII.

THE progress of the Association during the past year has been specially marked by a considerable increase in the life members. The number enrolled has now reached a total of 101, of whom 91 still remain on the books of the Association; and the Investment Fund arising from their compositions amounts to 530*l.* 5*s.*, of which 525*l.* is invested in the bonds of the Halifax Corporation, 425*l.* at 4½ per cent. and 100*l.* at 4 per cent. per annum, yielding a permanent income of about 23*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* a year. It is with great satisfaction that the Council draws the attention of the members to this element of stability in the constitution of their Association, and to the success which has so far attended the alteration which it was found desirable, at an early period, to make in the rules. The accounts, as audited, will also be found to contain an important item of 101*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*, received for arrears and back parts of the Journal supplied to members. This demand not only indicates that the Journal is a chief source of the usefulness and popularity of the Association, but is evidence of the permanent value of the papers of the various contributors. The volumes already issued are, in fact, acknowledged to be a necessary work of reference for antiquaries and topographers in matters concerning the county. An attempt by the officials of the Court of Probate in London to secure the removal from York of the wills, inventories, and other testamentary records of the northern Province, which have been accumulating in the registries of the Exchequer and Prerogative Courts of the Archbishops of York for five hundred years prior to the passing of the Probate Act of 1857, has, through the prompt action of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of that city been for the

present happily frustrated. On the matter being brought before your Council, a memorial, dated the 25th of April, 1876, which is printed below, No. I., was prepared and presented to the President of the Probate Division of the High Court of Justice on the following day. Similar memorials from the Corporation of York and from the Yorkshire Law Society were presented at the same time, and the whole were supported by a numerous deputation, comprising, in addition to His Grace the Archbishop of York, the Lord Mayor of York, and the President and officials of the Law Society, a large number of members of Parliament, representing counties and boroughs in the northern province. These were hastily summoned at less than twenty-four hours' notice, and it is gratifying to acknowledge the readiness and zeal with which the Archbishop, as our president, took charge of, and most ably supported the memorial of your Council. A great interest being thus suddenly excited in these valuable records, it was felt important to make the subject more widely known, and to procure a more general expression of opinion as to their threatened removal. With that view a circular letter, printed below, No. II., was issued jointly by the Town Clerk of York, and your honorary secretaries. To this, affirmative replies, in a form, No. III., were received from the gentlemen whose names it has been thought right to record in a list, No. IV., a copy of which has been forwarded to the Right Honourable Sir James Hannen, and, as no further step has been taken to remove the records, the Council has reason to hope that the efforts made to secure their retention in the City of York, will be found to have been successful.

The excursion for the year was made to Halifax, Shibden Hall, and Elland, and, with the most cordial help of the vicar and churchwardens of Halifax, John Lister, Esq., of Shibden Hall, and the rector and churchwardens of Elland, a useful programme was prepared for the occasion. For the success of the excursion, which was largely attended, thanks must be specially accorded to Mr. E. J. Walker, who supplied nearly all the information given as to the Parish Church of Halifax; to Mr. B. W. Jackson, for the plans of both Halifax and Elland Churches, specially prepared for the occasion; to Mr. J. S. Stott and Mr. E. J. Walker for the

plate of Masons Marks ; to Mrs. Booth for the view of the Parish Church ; and to Mr. Tinsley for the view of Shibden Hall, all of which added greatly to the attractiveness and usefulness of the programme ; to Mr. Lister and to Mr. James Fowler, F.S.A., are also specially due the thanks of the members for the papers read by them. The journal has throughout the year received the careful attention of the Council, and it is hoped that the concluding part of Vol. IV., which is already in the press, and will be issued to all members whose subscriptions are not in arrear for 1876, will be found to maintain the standard set by the earlier volumes. The scheme for the exploration of Byland Abbey is progressing slowly, about 200*l.* having been already paid or promised to the fund. A special appeal will shortly be made on behalf of this work, and when 500*l.* has been paid or promised, it is the intention of the Council to proceed with the work. It is hoped that such a response will have been given as to enable the works to be commenced in the coming spring, and that they may be well advanced before the visit contemplated by Mr. Sharpe in the early autumn, when he intends to conduct a large party of architectural students through the Cistercian Abbeys of the North of England. Side by side with the progress and activity above indicated, the Council has to lament the loss by death of some members who have warmly interested themselves in the work of the Association. Of these special mention must be made of Dr. Wm. Turnbull. As the first president of the Huddersfield Association he has always been regarded as one of the founders and chief supporters of the society, and his address on the occasion of the first public meeting on the 8th July, 1864, sufficiently evinced the interest in archæological pursuits which he felt himself and sought also to excite in others. He remained a warm friend of our society to the last, and his death at an advanced age, after a life of incessant activity in his profession as a physician, is a loss not easily to be replaced. In Lord Herries, who was an early member, and up to his death a vice-president of the association, archæology has lost an accomplished student, and our society a warm friend. A great loss has also been sustained by the society in the death of Mr. Thos. Wilson, M.A., a member of the council, one interested in all the educational movements in his own town of Leeds, and a leading man in the manage-

ment of the scientific societies of the county. The members of the council who retire by rotation are the Rev. Canon Hulbert, Geo. John Armytage, F.S.A., S. J. Chadwick, and J. S. Stott, who, with the officers of the association, and Mr. Stanhope Smart, the auditor, are eligible for re-election. The vacancy occasioned by Mr. Wilson's death must also be supplied.

The accounts given below were then read and passed, and the retiring officers re-elected, with the Rev. Canon Hulbert, M.A., George John Armytage, F.S.A., Joseph Savile Stott, Joseph Wilkinson and Edmund Wilson as new members of the Council.

Worshire Archaeological and Topographical Association.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1876.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
<i>Investment Account.</i>			
Balance brought forward	456 15 0	Invested with the Halifax Corporation	525 0 0
14 new life members	73 10 0	Balance in Bank	5 5 0
	530 5 0		530 5 0
<i>General Account.</i>			
Balance in Bank	106 17 10	<i>General Account.</i>	
Cash in Hon. Sec.'s hands	2 10 9	Journal.	
228 Annual Subscriptions	109 8 7	Printing and Illustrations	162 5 9
Arrears and Sale of back Nos. of Journal	119 14 0	Excursion to Halifax, &c.	
Interest on General Account	101 7 3	Deficiency	3 4 9
" Investment Account	13 1 4	Printing report	4 19 0
	20 13 2		8 3 9
		<i>Stationery.</i>	
		Stationery	13 4 2
		Mr. Barber's payments for 1875	12 0 0
		York Wills Memorial	0 6 6
		Surtees Society	2 2 0
		Petty Cash, Postage of Journals, Carriage of	
		Parcels, &c.	10 15 10
		Balance in Bank	38 8 6
			155 6 4
			£894 9 4

Audited and found correct 24th } STANHOPE SMART, Auditor.
January, 1877.

NO. I.

To THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR JAMES HANNEN,
KNIGHT, THE PRESIDENT OF THE PROBATE DIVISION OF
THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE,

**The Memorial of the Council of the
YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND
TOPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION,**

Sheweth,

That Your Memorialists are the Council elected
by the Members of the Yorkshire Archæological and
Topographical Association for the general conduct and
management of its affairs.

That the Members of the Association number
nearly Four hundred, and include the Lords Lieu-
tenant of the North and West Ridings and many of
the Nobility, Clergy, and Landed Gentry, with Fellows
of the Society of Antiquaries and others, who are
interested in the History and Antiquities of the County
of York.

That the main object of our Association is to
illustrate and preserve the Antiquities and collect and
publish materials for the History of our County.

That we have heard with the deepest regret that
it is in contemplation to remove from their ancient
resting-place in the City of York the Wills, Inven-
tories, and other Testamentary Records which for a
period of upwards of Five hundred years prior to the
passing of the Probate Act, 1857, have accumulated
there, under the jurisdiction exercised by the Ex-
chequer and Prerogative Courts of the Archbishops
of York.

That the Documents in the Exchequer Court

relate mainly to the Diocese of York, and almost entirely to persons residing in and having *bona Notabilia* within the County of York ; and the Documents in the Prerogative Court cover the small portions of the County not included in the Exchequer Court, together with all the other parts of the Province, embracing Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Cheshire, with, for a certain period, parts of the County of Nottingham.

That the whole of the long series of Wills, amounting, as we are informed, to nearly a Million in number, relate strictly to persons and property within the above-named Northern Counties. With the exception of the more recent ones, the legal purposes to be effected by them have all been long since accomplished, and they have passed into the class of Historical Manuscripts. Thus viewed they are of incalculable value, and have already been largely resorted to by the distinguished Antiquaries, who have from time to time undertaken to write the History of parts of our county ; while in the *Testamenta Eboracensia* of the Surtees Society, volumes have been specially devoted to the publication of what is of Historical and Archæological interest in the original records.

That the Testamentary records of the various Peculiar and Manorial Courts within the Probate District of the West Riding of the County have already been collected and removed to the District Registry at Wakefield, and in the opinion of your Memorialists there can be no place more proper than the District Registry at York, as a receptacle for the records of the dissolved Probate Jurisdiction of the Exchequer and Prerogative Courts of the Archbishops of the Northern Province. No place equally accessible to all who are most interested in these ancient records can be selected, and, as they might there be kept in the same custody and with the same safeguards that surround and protect the Wills and other records of the new District Registry at York of Her Majesty's Court of Probate, Your Memorialists would most respectfully urge, that no reason can be shewn sufficient to justify the removal of these precious Archives from the locality to which

they relate and in which they can be consulted readily by those, whose local knowledge is a necessary qualification for the due and full use of the information they contain.

That the removal of the Records in question will greatly retard and discourage the efforts which Members of our Association are making to utilize them for historical purposes by rendering it necessary to employ, at considerable expense, agents having no local knowledge, and unable, therefore, to understand and appreciate the spirit and the scope of the particular matter that any local historian may, by searching these sources of information, be seeking to elucidate.

Your Memorialists therefore humbly pray that Your Lordship in the exercise of the powers given by the New Probate Act will direct a requisition to issue for the transfer of all the Records and Documents which are the subject of this Memorial to the District Registry at York of Her Majesty's Court of Probate with due provision for their safe custody.

Signed on behalf of the Council this 25th day of April, 1876.

W. EBOR. *President.*
THOMAS BROOKE, F.S.A., *Chairman,*
FAIRLESS BARBER, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*
GEO. W. TOMLINSON, *Hon. Sec.*

No. II.

THREATENED REMOVAL OF YORK WILLS, &c.,
TO LONDON.

YORK, May 5th, 1876.

SIR,

ONLY a few days ago it came privately to the knowledge of some members of the Corporation of the City of York, that the removal to London of the grand series of Wills and other Testamentary Records,

which for over 500 years have accumulated in the Registries of successive Archbishops, was contemplated. The intended removal was stated to be imminent; no time was therefore lost. The memorials, copies of which accompany this letter, were prepared and adopted by the Corporation and the Yorkshire Archæological Society, and an appointment was made with Sir James Hannen, the Chief Judge of the Probate Division of the High Court of Justice, for him to receive a deputation to present the memorials, on the 26th April.

Though scarcely a day intervened between the memorials and the appointment, the efforts made to bring the matter to the knowledge of influential persons, interested in retaining these precious Archives in the North of England, to which they exclusively belong, were successful in securing the personal attendance of His Grace the Archbishop of York and of the following noblemen and gentlemen as the deputation in support of the memorials:—

Earl de Grey, M.P. (Ripon); Viscount Galway, M.P. (East Retford); Lord Eslington, M.P., and W. B. Beaumont, Esq., M.P. (Northumberland, South); Geo. Leeman, Esq., M.P., and Jas. Lowther, Esq., M.P. (York); Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Bart., M.P., and Sir Chas. Legard, Bart., M.P. (Scarbro'); Sir M. Wilson, Bart., M.P. (Yorkshire, West Riding, Northern Division); W. T. W. S. Stanhope, Esq., M.P. (Yorkshire, West Riding, Southern Division); C. Sykes, Esq., M.P., and W. H. Harrison-Broadley, Esq., M.P. (Yorkshire, East Riding); C. M. Norwood, Esq., M.P. (Hull); Wm. St. James Wheelhouse, Esq., M.P., and R. Tennant, Esq., M.P. (Leeds); F. Herschell, Esq., Q.C., M.P. (Durham, City); R. Winn, Esq., M.P. (North Lincolnshire); Serjt. Simon, M.P. (Dewsbury); Sir W. Payne-Gallwey, Bart., M.P. (Thirsk); Basil T. Woodd, Esq., M.P. (Knaresbro'); H. W. F. Bolekow, Esq., M.P. (Middlesborough); E. Backhouse, Esq., M.P. (Darlington), J. Dodds, Esq., M.P. (Stockton); T. B. Thoroton-Hildyard, Esq., M.P. (South Notts.); and Sir E. Beckett, Bart.

All the records in question are of a peculiarly domestic character, affecting persons and property in the Northern Province, and the injustice of removing them from the locality to which they relate, to a distance at which they could only be consulted at great expense and inconvenience, was strongly pressed upon the Judge by His Grace the Archbishop and other members of the deputation. Sir James Hannen, in reply, admitted the reasonableness of the memorials, and stated in effect that the only question to be considered was the safety of the Documents themselves, and that, if this were provided for at York, the Documents should not be removed. This raised a question to be dealt with by the Lords of the Treasury, and the deputation, headed by His Grace the Archbishop, after thanking Sir James Hannen for his courteous attention, at once went to the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., brought the whole matter before him, and secured a promise of his most favourable consideration.

It must be explained that the custody of these old Records has hitherto remained with the Archbishop's Registrar, and that the building in which for so long a period they have rested is the property of the Dean and Chapter of York; also that since the establishment of the District Registry of Her Majesty's Court of Probate at York, under the Act of 1857, all new Wills, &c., have so far been deposited in the same

building, to which have been transferred the testamentary records of the various Manorial and Peculiar Courts within the district. The Treasury have acquired offices for the District Registry in the City, but have not finally adapted them or provided the requisite and usual Strong Room, which, so far as information has been obtained, all other District Registries already possess. This the Treasury must eventually do, and a limited extension of such a strong room, at a comparatively small outlay, is all that is needed to satisfy Sir James Hannen, and retain the Records in the Metropolis of the Northern Province.

The course so far taken has for the moment prevented the issue of the requisition for the removal of the Documents to London. The matter, however, is only in abeyance, and it is felt to be desirable to strengthen the position already gained, by securing a more general expression of opinion throughout the Northern Counties.

A list is, therefore, being prepared of persons who approve of the memorials already presented, and who are willing that their approval should be intimated not only to Sir James Hannen, but also to the Treasury, with a view to the Records being transferred to the District Registry at York, with proper provision for their safe custody, and we have most respectfully to ask you to allow your name to be added to such list, and to return the accompanying form duly signed to the Town Clerk of York with as little delay as possible.

We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servants,

JOS. WILKINSON,
Town Clerk of York;

FAIRLESS BARBER, } *Hon. Secs. of the York-*
GEO. W. TOMLINSON, } *shire Archaeological and*
 } *Topographical Association.*

NO. III.

THREATENED REMOVAL OF YORK WILLS, &c., TO LONDON.

To the Town Clerk of York.

SIR,

PLEASE to add my name to the list of those who approve the Memorials of the Corporation and the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association already presented to Sir James Hannen in this matter, and take this as an authority to express both to him and to the Lords of the Treasury my desire that the Records in question should remain in York, and be transferred to the District Registry of the Court of Probate there, with proper provision for their safe custody.

Name

Residence

Date

No. IV.

LIST OF JUSTICES OF THE PEACE AND OTHERS WHO HAVE
SIGNED THE ABOVE CIRCULAR.

AKENHEAD, Robert, Otterington Hall, Northallerton.
 Anderson, Sir C. H. J., Bart., Barnby, Yorkshire.
 Anne, George, Burghwallis Hall, Doncaster.
 Athorpe, John Carver, Dinningham Hall, Rotherham.
 Armitage, Sir George, Bart., Kirklees Park, Brighouse.
 Austin, John, Skelton Hall, York.
 Ackroyd, William, Wheatleys, Birkenshaw, Leeds.
 Allen, Robert Henry, Blackwell Hall, near Darlington.
 Archbishop of York, The Palace, Bishopthorpe.
 Armitage, J. T., Birkby Grange, near Huddersfield.
 Assheton, Ralph, M.P., Downham Hall, Clitheroe.
 Atkinson, Charles, Crabtree Lodge, Sheffield.
 Auckland, Lord, Edenthorpe, Doncaster.
 Ayrton, William Scrope, Clifden, Saltburn-by-the-Sea.
 Ainslie, Montague, Grizedale, Hawkshead.
 Ainsworth, D., Broughton Hall, Grange-on-Sands.
 Andrew, Ely, Mere Bank, Ashton-under-Lyne.
 Armitage, George, Nunthorpe, York.
 Adingstall, G., Warrington.
 Ashton, Thomas Mather, Burscough, Ormskirk.
 Aspland, Alfred, Dukinfield, Ashton-under-Lyne.
 Allison, J. J., Roker, Sunderland.
 Arrowsmith, P. R., Oxton, Cheshire.
 Anderson, Chas. Wm., Kirk Hammerton Hall, York.
 BANKS, Meyrick, Cudworth, Barnsley.
 Beaumont, Edward Blackett, 33, Norland Square, London.
 Briggs, George, Lt.-Col., Herndean, Hants.
 Bent, James, Sutton Hall, Macclesfield.
 Brooke, Thos., F.S.A., Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield.
 Beaumont, John, Ravensknowle, Huddersfield.
 Buckley, Geo. F., Linfitt's House, Saddleworth.
 Buckley, Richard, Greenfield, Manchester.
 Bower, R. H., Welham, Malton.
 Brooksbank, Edward, Healaugh, Tadcaster.
 Beachell, Jas., Ivy Lodge, Rawcliffe, Selby.
 Blake, William Greaves, Sharrow House, Sheffield.
 Brown, Saml. James, Lofftuss Hill, Knaresbro'.
 Beckett, Sir Edmd. Beckett, Q.C.
 Bedwell, Francis Alfred, Fort Hall, Bridlington Quay.
 Birtwhistle, John B., Minster Vicarage, Beverley.
 Backhouse, Edmund, M.P., Darlington.
 Bagnall, Chas., Sneaton Castle, Whitby.

Bagshawe, F. W., The Oaks, Sheffield.
Baines, Edward, St. Ann's Hill, Burley, Leeds.
Barker, Joseph, Holme Field, Wakefield.
Barnard, C. E. G., Cave Castle, Brough, East Yks.
Beaumont, W. B., M.P., Bretton Park, Wakefield.
Bell, T. Hugh, Red Barns, Coatham, Redcar.
Beswick, William, Gristhorpe, near Filey.
Bewicke, R. C. Bewicke, Coulby Manor, Middlesbro'.
Blakeney, Rev. J. E., Vicar of St. Paul's, Sheffield.
Bolton, Lord, Bolton Hall, Leyburn.
Bower, E. C., Wadworth Hall, Doncaster.
Boynton, Sir Hy. Somerville, Bart., Burton Agnes.
Bradbury, Ralph Thos., Kinders, Greenfield, near Manchester.
Brigg, John, Keighley.
Brooke, Wm., Northgate House, Honley, Huddersfield.
Brooke, Rev. R. E., Canon of York.
Brown, Geo. Gilpin, Sedbury Park, Richmond, Y.
Brown, Chas., Rossington, Bawtry.
Bateson-de-Yarburgh, G., Heslington Hall, York.
Beaumont, Wm. Geo., Waterhead House, Oldham.
Boustead, Warwick P., Settlebeck, Sedbergh.
Briggs, Rawdon, Birstwith Hall, Ripley.
Brown, Douglas, Arncliffe Hall, Northallerton.
Bruce, Rev. Lloyd, Carlton Rectory.
Byron, S. S., Skelton Hall, York.
Barlow, Samuel, Stakehill House.
Barlow, Jas., Greenthorne, near Bolton.
Baron, Joshua, Thorncliffe, Darwen, Lancashire.
Bates, Edward, M.P., Manydown Park, Basingstoke.
Bayley, R., Castle Dyke, Sheffield.
Benson, Robert, 16, Bushell Place, Preston.
Bethell, Wm. F., Rise, near Hull.
Birley, Rev. J. Shepherd, Moss Lee, Bolton-le-Moors.
Bishop of Chester, The Rt. Rev., Dee Side, Chester.
Bland, Thos. D., Kippax Park.
Blunt, Venble. Archdeacon, Vicarage, Scarborough.
Bolckow, H. W. F., M.P., Marton Hall, Middlesbro'.
Bolland, Thos., York.
Booth, Chas., Brushes, near Sheffield.
Boulton, Rev. W. H., Aughton Rectory, Ormskirk.
Bourne, Jas. Thos., 28, Falkner Street, Liverpool.
Bowman, Thos., Hawkshead, Ambleside.
Bradbury, John, Haughton House, Southport.
Brocklebank, Ralph, Childwall Hall, Liverpool.
Brocklebank, Thos., Springwood, near Liverpool.
Brooke, John, Kensworth House, Dunstable.
Brooksbank, Edwd. Hawke, Healaugh Hall, Tadcaster.
Brooksbank, A., Middleton Hall, Hull.
Burton, Edwd., West Field, Tyldesley.
Busfield, J. A., Upwood, near Bingley.
Butterworth, Jas., Rake Bank, Rochdale.
Baldwin, Wm. Jas., Dalton-in-Furness, Lancashire.

Brock, W. H., Vicar of Christ Church, Doncaster, and Canon of York,
Doncaster.

Bell, Chas. Wm., Roche Court, near Salisbury.

Blenkinsopp, Col., Hoppyland Park, Bishop Auckland.

Boyne, Viscount, Brancepeth Castle, Durham.

Bewicke, Calverly, Close House, Wylam-on-Tyne.

CARR, Wm., Gomersal House, Gomersal.

Carroll, Richd. Sterne, 6, The Crescent, Scarborough.

Clarke, Thomas, Knedlington Manor, Howden.

Coates, John Thos., Holme Head, Thornton-in-Lonsdale, Lancashire.

Cooke, Philip B. Davies, Owston Park, Doncaster.

Cooke, H. B., The Rectory, Darfield.

Coulman, William, Eastoft Hall, Goole.

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Craven, Josh., Park House, Steeton, near Leeds.

Creyke, Ralph, Rawcliffe Hall, Selby.

Crompton, Joshua S., Azerley Hall, Ripon.

Crowther, William, Field House, Gomersal.

Crust, Thomas, Town Clerk, Beverley.

Collins, Thomas, Knaresbro'.

Carroll, Coote Alexr., Boston Spa, Tadcaster.

Carter, Charles, Theakston Hall, Bedale.

Cayley, Sir Digby, Bart., Brompton.

Chapman, John, Carlecoates, Dunford Bridge.

Chaytor, C. D., Spennithorne Hall, Bedale.

Clayton, T. G., Clifton, York.

Cleveland, Rev. Henry, Romaldkirk, Darlington.

Clough, William, Clifton House, York.

Coates, Saml., Sowerby, Thirsk.

Cochrane, Henry, The Longlands, Middlesbro'-on-Tees.

Constable, H. S., Wassand, Hull.

Corner, Edward, Esk Hall, near Whitby.

Cradock, Christopher, Hartforth, Richmond, Yorks.

Creyke, Venble. Stephen, Bolton Percy, Tadcaster.

Crossley, John, M.P., Halifax.

Cust, Venble. Edwd., Danby Hill, Northallerton.

Calverley, Edmund, Oulton Hall, Leeds.

Castellain, Alfred, Aigburth, Lancashire.

Cayley, E. S., Wydale, York.

Chadwick, John, Buile Hill, Manchester.

Chadwick, John, Woodville, near Stockport.

Chadwick, Chas., Lynncourt, Broadwell Down, Tunbridge Wells.

Clarke, Benju. S., Walmer House, Southport.

Clitherow, E. J. S., Hotham Hall, Brough.

Clayton, Lt.-Col. Edwd. Every, Rowley, near Burnley.

Coulthart, John Ross, Croft House, Ashton-under-Lyne.

Coulthurst, J., Gargrave House, Skipton.

Crook, Joseph, Oakfield, Bolton.

Cunliffe, Ellis, Lytham.

Cust, Lt.-Col. John Francis, Harewood.

Charlesworth, John B., Hatfield Hall.

Cobbett, John M., M.P., Eden Bridge, Kent.
Cortwane, Basil E. A., Chilton Lodge, Hungerford.

DENISON, Wm. Beckett, Meanwood Park, Leeds.
Denny, Richard, Tatham Rectory, Lancaster.
Dixon, Benjn., Pledwick House, Wakefield.
Darley, Albert, Burton Field, York.
Darley, Chas. Albert, Burton Field, York.
Darley, Hy., Aldby Park, York.
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Denys, Sir Geo. Wm., Bart., Draycott Hall, Reeth, Richmond, Y.
Dodds, Jos. M.P., Stockton-on-Tees.
Dover, John, Farfield, Sedbergh.
Duncombe, the Hon. and Very Rev. Augustus, Dean of York.
Duncombe, Arthur, South Cliff, Scarborough.
Duncombe, George, Beverley.
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Dixon, John Henry, Deputy Clerk of the Peace, Wakefield.
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Duncombe, Hon. Octavius, Westerdale.
Duncombe, Hon. Vice-Adm. Arthur, Kilnwick Percy, Pocklington.
Duncombe, C. W., Kilnwick Percy, Pocklington.
Dunderdale, Robert, Poulton-le-Fylde.
Dean of Manchester (Very Rev. B. M. Cowie).
Duck, Geo. N., Fairlieburn, Fairlie-by-Greenock.
Dale, David, West Lodge, Darlington.
Dixon, Robert Wm., Seaton Carew.

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Ellershaw, John, Kirkstall, near Leeds.
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Edmondson, Thos. G., Gresgarth, Caton, Lancaster.
Elletson, D. H., Parrott Hall.
England, T. T., Heirs House, Colne.
Evans, Joseph, Haydock Grange, St. Helen's, Lancashire.
Ecroyd, W. Farrer, Burnley.
Earle, Frederic W., Edenhurst, Huyton, Liverpool.
Elliott, John Fogg, Elvet Hill, Durham.

Ettrick, Anthony, North Hylton, Durham.
 Ellison, Ralph Carr, Dunston Hill, Gateshead.

FOSTER, William, Harrowins House, near Bradford.
 Faber, C. W., Northaw House, Barnet, Herts.
 Fairbairn, Sir Andrew, Kt., Goldsbro' Hall, Knaresbro'.
 Fallows, Wm., Middlesbro'.
 Fawkes, Ayscough, Farnley Hall, Otley.
 Fielden, John, Grimston, Tadcaster.
 Finch, Heneage Wynne, Manor House, Stokesley.
 Foster, Jonas, Cliffe Hill, Lightcliffe, Halifax.
 Foster, George, Whins House, Sabden, Lancashire.
 Foster, Abraham B., Northowram Hall, Halifax.
 Fowler, Marshall, Preston Hall, Stockton-on-Tees.
 Fox, George Lane, Bramham Park, Tadcaster.
 Fox, Theodore, Pinchinthorpe, Guisbro'.
 Fox, Frances, Saltburn.
 Ferguson, Fawsitt J. D., Walkington Hall, Beverley.
 Foster, John, Queensbury, Bradford.
 Feilden, Sir W. H., Bart., Scarborough.
 Folds, James, Burnley.
 Foord, Rev. R. H., Foxholes Rectory.
 Ford, Wm., Ethell Hall, Lancashire.
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 Godwin, John V., Crowtrees, Rawdon, near Leeds.
 Gunter, Robert, Wetherby Grange, Wetherby.
 Gardner, George, Northallerton.
 Garrett, Rev. Wm. T., The Hall, Crakehall, Bedale.
 Gatty, Rev. Alfred, Ecclesfield.
 Greene, Dawson, Whittington Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale.
 Grimston, John, Neswick, near Driffeld.
 Gallwey, Sir W. P., Bart., M.P., Thirkleby Park, Thirsk.
 Gainsford, W. D., Richmond Hill, near Sheffield.
 Garnett, Wm., Bashall Lodge, near Clitheroe.
 Gaskell, Charles Milnes, Thornes House.
 Gatty, F. A., Elmfield Hall, Accrington.
 Gibbon, Edwd., Woolton, Liverpool.
 Gilkes, Edgar, Middlesbrough.
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 Gregson, Henry, Moorlands, Lancaster.
 Greenwell, Rev. W., Durham.
 Gray, William, Greatham, West Hartlepool.

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 Harrison, John Jas., Harrogate.
 Hatfield, John, Skellow Grange, Doncaster.
 Hemsworth, Benjn., Monk Fryston Hall, South Milford.
 Henderson, Joseph, Eshton House, Gargrave, Leeds.
 Hirst, John, jun., Ladcastle, Dobcross, Manchester.
 Holdsworth, Saml., Wakefield.
 Houghton, Lord.
 Howarth, William Lee, Grove House, Pudsey, Leeds.
 Howard, the Hon. and Rev. W., Whiston Rectory, Rotherham.
 Hudson, Robert John, Burley-in-Wharfedale, Leeds.
 Hutchinson, Hanley, Grassfield House, Pateley Bridge.
 Harcourt, Egerton Vernon, Whitwell Hall, York.
 Harris, Alfred, Oxton Hall, Tadcaster.
 Harrison, J. S., Brandesburton Hall, Beverley.
 Hartley, Joseph, Hartley Hill, Leeds.
 Hutton, John, Solberge, Northallerton.
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 Headlam, Morley, Whorlton Grange, Darlington.
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 Hey, Ven. Archdeacon, Clifton, York.
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 Hildyard, Thos. B. T., Winestead Hall, Hull.
 Hill, John Richard, Thornton, near Pickering.
 Hill, Rev. Jas., Normanby.
 Hill, Thos., Romanby, Northallerton.
 Hind, Joseph, Beverley.
 Hodgson, John, Northallerton.
 Hope, Rev. C. Augustus, Barwick-in-Elmet.
 Hordern, Rev. J., Burton Agnes, Hull.
 Horne, G., Barnard Castle.
 Horton, Joshua Thos., Howroyde, near Halifax.
 Hargrove, Alfred E.
 Hudson, John Anthony, Longcroft, Beverley.
 Hammond, Wm. Hy., Raven Hill, near Scarborough.
 Hardman, H. H., Horncliffe House, Rawtenstall.
 Hardman, John, Green Bank, Blackpool.
 Hargreaves, John, Broad Oak, Accrington.
 Harrison, Joseph, Galligreaves Hall, Blackburn.
 Harrison, Jas. S., Dallas Place, Lancaster.
 Harrison, Thos., West Hill, Stalybridge.
 Hartley & Son, Messrs., Colne.
 Hayes, Thos. Travers, Fairfield, Leigh.
 Headlam, Francis J., Manchester.
 Heape, R. T., Highfield, Rochdale.
 Herries, Right Hon. Lord, Everingham Park, York.
 Hibbert, Thos. J., Broughton Grove, Cartmel.
 Hick, John, Mylton Hall, Lancashire.
 Higgin, W. H., Manchester.
 Higinbottom, George, Birkdale Park, Southport.

Hildyard, J. T., Winestead Hall, Hull.
 Hill, Richard, High Stakesby, Whitby.
 Hinchliffe, George, Stoodley Lodge, near Todmorden.
 Hopkins, W. R. Innes, Grey Towers, Northallerton.
 Hornby, E. G. S., Dalton Hall, Burton, Westmoreland.
 Horsfall, Robert, Grasseendale Priory, Liverpool.
 Horsfall, Geo. H., Larkfield, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.
 Houghton, Robert, Lowton House, Lowton.
 Howitt, Thos., Queen Square, Lancaster.
 Hurst, Richard, Spring Hill, Rochdale.
 Hustler, Wm. Thos., Newsham Hall, Winston, Darlington.
 Hutchinson, Robt. H., Blackburn.
 Heaton, J. D., Claremont, Leeds.
 Hornby, T. D., Druid's Cross, Liverpool.
 Hield, John, Ashton-under-Lyne.
 Herford, Edward, Macclesfield.
 Hall, Col. George, Heighington.
 Harrison, Rev. W. G., Easington Rectory, Castle Eden.
 Hartley, John, Sunderland.
 Hibbert, John T., Urmston Grange, near Manchester.
 Hirst, John, Grove House, Delph, Manchester.
 Helmsley, Viscount, M.P., Duncombe Park, York.
 Hudson, George, Monkswearmouth Grange.

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 Ingham, Josh., Beaufort Grange, Sale, Manchester.

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 Jalland, B. M., Holderness House, Hull.
 Jarratt, John, North Cave.
 Jaques, R. M., Easby Abbey, Richmond, Y.
 Jeffcock, John, Cowley Manor, near Sheffield.
 Jefferson, J. J. Dunnington, Thicket Priory, York.
 Johnstone, Sir Harcourt, Bart., M.P., Hackness Hall, Scarbro'.
 Johnston, Jas., Alum Scar, Pleasington, near Blackburn.
 Joule, B. St. J. B., Southcliffe, Southport.
 Johnson, F. D., Dykleyheads, Durham.
 Johustone, Charles, Sutton Hall, Thirsk.

KAYE, John, Clayton West, Huddersfield.
 Kendall, John, Scarborough.
 Kearsley, Robert, Highfield, Ripon.
 Kearsley, E. S., Ducie House, Salford.
 Kemp, F., Bispham Lodge, Poulton-le-Fylde.
 Kendall, T. M., jun., The Low Hall, Pickering.
 Kendell, D. B., Heath House, near Wakefield.
 Kennedy, Myles, Hill Fort, Ulverston.
 Knowles, Jas., Eagley Bank Bottom.
 Kirkpatrick, Thos., The Meaulays, Tyldesley.

Kitson, Jas., Elmete Hall, Leeds.

Kershaw, Rev. J. A., Lathom, Lancashire.

LASCELLES, Hon. Geo. Edwin, Sion Hill, Thirsk.

Lister, Geo. S., Finningley Park, Bawtry.

Leatham, Wm. Hy., Hemsworth Hall, near Pontefract.

Lee, R. T., Grove Hall, Knottingley.

Lockwood, Thos., Bilton House, Harrogate.

Laye, H. T., Scarborough.

Lees, Edw. B., Clarksfield, Oldham.

Lees, Francis G., Acomb Park, near York.

Legard, George, Westhorpe House, Scarborough.

Legard, Sir Chas. Bart., M.P., Ganton, York.

Lesley, J., Sinnington Hall, near Pickering.

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Lockley, Thos., 18, Bootham, York.

Law, James, Bradford.

Leach, Jesse, Moss House, Heywood.

Lee, Thomas, Alder House, Atherton.

Lightfoot, John E., Accrington.

Lomas, William, Park View, Burnley.

Lupton, Joseph, Chapel Allerton, Leeds.

Leppoc, H. J., Kersal Crag, near Manchester.

Lipscomb, Rev. H. C., Staindrop, Darlington.

MACLURE, John W., Whalley Range, Manchester.

Meek, Sir Jas., Knight, Middlethorpe Lodge, near York.

Milner, John Crosland, Thurlstone, near Sheffield.

Milner, Fredk. G., Nun Appleton, Tadcaster.

Milner, W. P., Meersbrook, Sheffield.

Mackie, Edwd. A., Heath, near Wakefield.

Marriner, Wm., Albert Road, Southport.

Marshall, Josh., West Heslerton Hall, York.

Marwood, Geo., Busby Hall, Northallerton.

Maxwell, Hon. H. C., Scarthingwell Hall, Tadcaster.

Micklethwait, R., Ardsley House, Barnsley.

Milbank, Mark, Thorp Perrow, Bedale.

Milbank, Mark Wm. Vane, Thorp Perrow, Bedale.

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Morris, Rev. F. O., Nunburnholme Rectory, York.

Maden, Henry, Rockcliffe House, Bacup.

Marton, Geo. B. H., Capernwray Hall.

Massey, John, Hawks House, Burnley.

Maxwell, Hon. Marmaduke C., Everingham Park.

McCorquodale, Geo., Newton-le-Willows.

Mellor, George, Mayor of Ashton-under-Lyne.

Mortlock, C., Filey.

Morris, John G., Allerton Priory, near Liverpool.

Munn, Robert, Heath Hall, Stacksteads, Manchester.

Mucklow, Edward, Castle Head, Grange, Lancashire.

Musgrove, Edgar, West Tower, Aughton, near Ormskirk.

Mappin, Fredk. Thorpe, Thornbury, Sheffield.
 Mann, J. C., Seaham Harbour.
 Morrison, James, Jesmond Park, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Mayson, John S., Greenbank, Bowdon.

NEVILLE, Percy Sandford, Skelbrooke Park, Doncaster.
 Newall, Henry, Littleboro.
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OTTER, Henry, Swinton House, Rotherham.
 Ormerod, Abraham, Todmorden.

PARTINGTON, Henry, Wath-upon-Dearne, near Rotherham.
 Pease, J. W., Hesslewood, near Hull.
 Peel, Wm., Ackworth Park, near Pontefract.
 Pickard, Wm., Registry of Deeds, Wakefield.
 Paget, Rev. Thos. B., Welton, East Yorks.
 Parker, Thos. Goulbourne, Browsholme, Clitheroe.
 Peel, Jon., Knowlmere Manor, Clitheroe.
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 Powell, Rev. Saml. H., Sharow Lodge, Ripon.
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 Powlett, the Hon. A. C. O., Thorney Hall, Spennithorne, Bedale.
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 Preston, William, Burythorpe House.
 Pease, Joseph W., M.P., Hutton Hall, Guisbro'.
 Pilkington, Jas., Swinethwaite Hall, Bedale.
 Parker, Thos. Townley, Charnock, Chorley, Lancashire.
 Parker, R. Townley, Cuerden Hall, Preston.
 Parker, Edward, Browsholme Hall.
 Parr, Rev. John Owen, Vicarage, Preston.
 Peacock, Richard, Gorton Hall, Gorton.
 Pedder, Rev. Wilson, Garstang Vicarage.
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 Pedden, Richard, West Cliff, Preston.
 Pemberton, Richd. Lawrence, The Barnes and Hawthorn Tower, Sunderland.
 Pease, Hy. Fell, Brinkburn, Darlington.
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 Raine, Rev. Jas., 2, Crescent, York.
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 Rayner, Josh., West Bank, Blundell Sands, Liverpool.
 Reynard, Edwd. Horner, Sunderlandwick, Driffield.
 Reynard, Fredk., Horner, Sunderlandwick, Driffield.
 Richardson, Thos., Kirkleavington, near Yarm.
 Riddell, Francis, Leyburn Grove, Yorkshire.
 Ridgway, H. A., Woodside, Halifax.
 Ripley, Henry, W., M.P., Acacia, Apperley, Leeds.
 Ripon, Most Honble. Marquis of, Studley Royal, Ripon.
 Robinson, Rev. Hugh Geo., Kirkholme, Streatham, Surrey.
 Rudd, John B., Tolesby Hall, Middlesbro'.
 Robinson, Chas. R., Bretaneby Manor, Darlington.
 Robinson, Wm., Reedley Bank, near Burnley.
 Radcliffe, Josiah, Werneth Park, Oldham.
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 Rigby, John, Chorley, Lancashire.
 Ross, Malcolm, The Old Hall, Smedley, Manchester.
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 Royds, Rev. C. Twemlow, Heysham Rectory, Lancaster.
 Rylands, John, Thelwall, near Warrington.
 Rylands, Peter, M.P., Massey Hall, Thelwall, Cheshire.
 Redhead, R. Milne, Springfield, Seedley, Manchester.
 Rippon, Valentine, Rogerley Hall, Frosterley.
 Robinson, Stephen, Moor House, Hartlepool.
 Radcliffe, Joshua, Balderstone, Rochdale.
 Robinson, Willm. Robinson, Silksworth Hall, Sunderland.

SERJEANTSON, George John, Camphill, Bedale.
 Shaw, Benjamin, Cowick Hall, Selby.
 Shaw, Bentley, Woodfield House, Huddersfield.
 Shepherd, Alfred, County Hall, Beverley.
 Stansfeld, Robt., Field House, near Halifax.
 Sutcliffe, J. C., The Lee, Hebden Bridge.
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 Sykes, Christopher, M.P., Brantingham Thorpe, Brough, East Yorks.
 Squire, Robt. Hutton, Holtby Hall, Bedale.
 Starkey, Lewis R., M.P., Becca Hall, South Milford, Yorks.
 St. Quintin, W. Herbert, Scampston Hall, York.
 Saltmarshe, Philip, Saltmarshe, Howden.
 Satterthwaite, E. H., Lancaster.
 Scrope, Simon, T., Danby Hall.
 Seel, Thos. Molyneux, Huyton Hey, Huyton, Liverpool.
 Seville, Thos., Elm House, Royston.
 Smethurst, Arthur C., The Limes, near Wigan.
 Smith, Thos., Flaxmoss, Helmsbore, near Manchester.
 Smith, Rev. Hy. R., Grange-over-Sands.
 Spencer, Rev. Isaac, Acomb, York.
 St. George, Rev. Howard, Billinge Vicarage, Wigan.
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 Sutcliffe, Jas. S., Bacup.
 Symonds, C. P., Ormskirk.
 Shafto, Rev. A. Duncombe, Brancepeth, Durham.
 Stevenson, Jas. C., M.P., South Shields.
 Saunders, W. J. T., Wennington Hall, Lancaster.
 Shipperdson, Edmd. H., Hermitage, Chester-le-Street.
 Silvertop, Hy. Chas., Minster Acres, Northumberland.
 Sanders, Geo., Tunbridge Wells.
 Smith, Rev. John Wm., Dinsdale Rectory, Darlington.
 Smith, Edwd. Leadbitter, Flass Hall, Durham.
 Smith, Wm. Thos., Hambleton House, near Selby.
 Surtees, C. Treville, Mamsforth House.
 Strickland, Sir C. W., Bart., Hildenby.
 Spencely, C., Prescott.

 TAYLOR, F. H., Middlewood Hall, near Barnsley.
 Teale, Joseph, The Ridding, Bentham.
 Tempest, Wilfred F., Ackworth Grange, Pontefract.
 Tennant, J. R., M.P., The Hall, Kildwick, Leeds.
 Tew, Thos. Wm., Carleton Grange, Pontefract.
 Tew, Percy, Woodgreaves, near Wakefield.
 Thompson, Childers H., Holdgate, York.
 Thompson, Leonard, Sheriff Hutton Park, York.

Tottie, John Wm., Coniston Hall, Bell Busk, Leeds.
 Townend, Edward, The Nook, Cullingworth, near Bingley.
 Taylor, Edwd. Clough, Kirkham Abbey, York.
 Taylor, Rev. R. M., Hunmanby Vicarage, York.
 Telford, Chas., 24, Micklegate, York.
 Tempest, J. R. P., Tong Hall, Leeds.
 Tew, Edwd., Crofton Hall, Wakefield.
 Tillotson, Thos. L., Whatton House, Loughboro'.
 Trotter, Charles, Stockton-on-Tees.
 Turton, Edmd. H., Upsall Castle, Thirsk.
 Todd, John, Swanland Hall, Brough, East Yorks.
 Thom, John, Chorley.
 Thompson, T. Perronet E., Gateacre, near Liverpool.
 Thompson, Jas., Poplar House, Wray.
 Thursby, Rev. Wm., Ormerod House, Burnley.
 Thursby, Col. J. H., Yorkshire Club, York.
 Topp, Alfred, Farnworth, Lancashire.
 Townsend, Richard, Helmsore.
 Trevor, Rev. Geo., Barford Rectory, Hull.
 Turner, Wright, Holly Bank, Pendleton, Manchester.
 Tweedale, R. L., Healey Hall, near Rochdale.
 Tweedale, John, Beightons, Rochdale.
 Talmadge, Arthur Hill, Burnhopeside Hall, Durham.
 Thewlis, Shaw, Warrington.
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 Wenlock, Lord, Escrick Park, York.
 Wharnccliffe, Earl of, Wortley Hall, Sheffield.
 Wheatley, Chas., Sands House, Mirfield.
 Whitaker, Joseph, Croft House, Ossett.
 Wickham, Lamplugh W., Chestnut Grove, Tadcaster.
 Wilson, George, Banner Cross, Sheffield.
 Wood, Fredk. Henry, Hollin Hall, near Ripon.
 Wrightson, R. H., Warmsworth, Doncaster.
 Wailes, George, Croft, Darlington.
 Wailes, Francis, Husthwaite, Easingwold.
 Waite, William, Crayke Castle, Easingwold.
 Waldy, T. W., Egglescliffe, Yarm.
 Waldy, Edward G., Yarm-on-Tees.
 Walker, Sir Jas., Bart., Sand Hutton, York.
 Wall, Rev. Chas. J., Sproatley Rectory, Hull.
 Waller, Edmund, Kirby Fleetham, Bedale.
 Wade, H. C., Hauxwell Hall, Bedale.
 Watkins, Ven. Archd., Marston Rectory, York.
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Winn, Rowland, M.P., Nostell Priory, Wakefield.
Winn, Edmd. J., Kettlethorpe Hall, Wakefield.
Wilson, Isaac, Nunthorpe Hall, Ayton, Northallerton.
Wilson, Sir Matthew, Bart., M.P., 28, Upper Brunswick Place, Brighton.
Wilson, David, Cottingham, Hull.
Wilson, Geo., Nunthorpe Grove, York.
Woodall, John, St. Nicholas House, Scarbro'.
Woodd, Hon. Chas. H. L., Oughtershaw Hall, Arncliffe, Skipton.
Woodd, Basil T., M.P., Conyngham Hall, Knaresbro'.
Wortley, the Hon. F. Stuart, Scarborough.
Wrangham, Walter, Hotham House, Brough.
Wylie, Robert, Beverley.
Wyvill, Marmaduke, Denton Park, Otley.
Wyvill, M. D'Arcy, Bolton Hall, Wilberfoss.
Whitehead, F. F., Beech Hill, Saddleworth.
Willoughby, Hon. D., Settrington House, Malton.
Wilson-Todd, W. H., Halnaby Hall, Darlington.
Walker, J. Scholes, Limefield, Bury.
Walker, R. S., Liverpool.
Walker, Thos. S., Maunby Hall, Thirsk.
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Westby, Jocelyn Fazakerley, Mowbreck Hall, Kirkham, Lancashire.
Wheler, Chas. Wheler, Ottenden, Kent.
Whitaker, Thos., Haslingden.
Whitehead, Josh. W., Rawtenstall.
Whittam, Wm. Barton, Birch House, Farnworth, near Bolton.
Wickham, W. W., Newton Kyme, Tadcaster.
Wilson, T. Newby, The Landing.
Wood, Wm. Raymer, Singleton Lodge, Manchester.
Wood, R. P., Bank House, Maghull.
Wood, Wm. Hewson, The Cragg, Colne.
Wood, Peter, M.D., Woodbank, Southport.
Wright, John Field, Hampathwaite Hollings, Ripley.
Whitlow, R. M., Southport.
Wood, Geo. W. R., Singleton, Manchester.
Watts, Sir Jas., Kt., Abney Hall, Cheadle, Cheshire.
Watson, John, Durham.
Webster, Hy. R., Morton House, Durham.
Webster, C. Malings, Pallion Hall, near Sunderland.
Wilkinson, Rev. Geo. P., Harperley Park, Wolsingham.
Wilson, John G., Cliffe Hall, Darlington.
Wallis, Robert, Old Ridley, Stocksfield.
Wilkinson, Anthony, D. L., 52, Old Elvet, Durham.
Whitehead, John B., Ashday Lea, Rawtenstall.
Wood, Thomas, Coxhoe Hall, Durham.
Wharton, J. F., Skelton Castle.
Worsley, W. C., Hovingham.
Wilson, Thomas, Shotley Hall.

YARBOROUGH, G. B. C., Campsmount, Doncaster.
Yates, Jas., Oakwood Hall, Rotherham.
Yorke, T. E., Halton Place, Hellifield, Leeds.
Yeoman, Rev. Constantine B., Manfield Vicarage, Darlington.
Yorke, John, Bewerley Hall, Pateley Bridge.
Yeoman, T. L., Marske Hall, Marske-by-the-Sea.
Young, J. S., Abbott Hall Grange, Lancashire.
Young, Wm. J., Wolverton House, Durham.

CORRECTIONS.

- Page 115, line 7, *for Bawden read Bawdwen.*
- „ 118, line 14, *for Canons in read Canons of.*
- „ 119, line 8, *for dean read chaplain.*
- „ 126, line 3, *for sheriffs read bailiffs.*
- „ „ line 34, *for eruption read irruption.*
- „ 129, line 37, *for de Poictevin read de le Poictevin.*
- „ 132, line 22, *for the waste read then waste.*
- „ 135, line 25, *for Lobinceau read Lobineau, also in note.*
- „ 138, line 24, *for marshes read marches.*
- „ 139, line 22, *for lordships read lordship.*
- „ 141, line 7, *for et read de.*
- „ 144, line 1, *for de Poictevin read de le Poictevin.*
- „ „ line 1, *for were read was.*
- „ 147, line 10, *for in 1069 read about 1071.*
- „ 171, line 10, *for Gachell read Gachett.*
- „ 178, line 30, *for P'M read Pui (parvi), and delete (i.e. prope Muroe).*
- „ 197, line 29, *for [Vill' de] read [Vill' de Ru] Foorde.*
- „ 198, line 6, *for Metchum read Mettham.*
- „ 211 line 20, *for Earl Fitzwilliam read sister of Earl Fitzwilliam.*
- „ 218, line 31, *for Roger read Ralph.*
- „ 241, line 12, *after 414 add Instr. p. 98.*
- „ 246, line 22, *for lands read land.*

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